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This thesis explores the occupational ideology of informal street vendors of cellular minutes in Bogota, Colombia. Using a survey methodology and cluster sampling I collected 203 questionnaires from vendors at their place of business to explore the characteristics of informal cellular minutes vendors, as well as their thoughts about their occupation, using Social Identity Theory and the literature on occupational dirty jobs and stigmatized work as guiding theoretical perspectives for analysis and understanding of vendors responses to the stigmatization of a their occupational group. This research affirmed that in Bogota, Colombia, informal vendors of cellular minutes are using similar coping mechanisms as dirty workers and members of low status occupations in the United States and Western Europe, by emphasizing the positive aspects of their work. It also showed that the environmental and population characteristics which vary by neighborhood, have the most significant effects on vendors' responses and their tenure in the occupation, though gender and other characteristics can be important as well in determining what advantages and positive feelings vendors express about their work.

AN APPROACH TO THE OCCUPATIONAL IDEOLOGY AND IDENTITY OF INFORMAL CELLULAR MINUTES VENDORS IN BOGOTA, COLOMBIA

by

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APPROVAL PAGE

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In 2009 I visited Colombia for the first time and I didn't know what to think. I was as *Gringa* (slang for North American) as a young North American can be. I starred at the people on the street too long, I couldn't elbow my way onto the bus and I clutched my purse as if for dear life. But being the hopelessly curious undergraduate sociology student that I was, on only my second ever trip outside of the United States, I noted everything different about my surroundings from my small rural southern hometown. I noticed the street vendors on every corner and the human telephone booths too. That's what I called the cellular minutes vendors, as they had small cellular phones on tiny little chains attached to their carts, their vests or sometimes their bodies. They were curious to me, but at that moment they were not so curious as to become the object of my greatest attention on a very important trip to meet my new in-laws and learn something about the country where my husband, who remained in North Carolina, had grown up.

Upon my return home and throughout numerous conversations with friends, colleagues and mentors these vendors kept popping up. This was my first real encounter with the informal economy or street vendors and though at the time I would not have and could not have named this as an encounter with informal economy I soon found

the term and it opened my mind to the reality of how economy functions and people get by the world over. One day in a casual conversation with Dr. Bill Markham about his recent experiences on a research trip to Cameroon he mentioned having seen dozens of human telephone booths there in the cities and how that was a social phenomenon that should really be studied! I noted that the same phenomenon existed in Colombia, but that I was baffled as to why. In talking with other people about their travel experiences I learned that informal cellular minutes vendors exist in many parts of the world, mostly concentrated in the Global South, but that the way they sell minutes varies. Whereas in Colombia and in Cameroon most of the vendors sell time on one of their phones, in other places such as the Philippines vendors sell the minutes and they send them to the buyer's phone via an sms message (short message service). In other places vendors sell little cards from the telecommunications companies that are activated by a scratch off code that puts some number of minutes onto a prepaid phone based on the value of the card.

As I looked deeper into the phenomenon in Colombia I learned why the vendors sell the way they do in Colombia. The telecommunications market in Colombia has three major players and a plurality of smaller providers who sell cellular phones, sim cards (subscriber identity module), minutes, pre and post-paid plans, and accessories. These corporate sellers are not the only sellers of cellular minutes or air time. There are numerous unlicensed middle men who serve as intermediaries and vendors often buy their minutes through these intermediaries. The vendors cannot always be certain as to whether or not the minutes they are selling are legal, as they can come from large corporate plans or more shady enterprises, but the intermediaries allow the vendors to sell

minutes at a lower per unit price than an individual can purchase the same number of minutes from one of the big three providers: Comcel, Movistar, or Tigo. Colombian Law dictates that the recipients of phone calls and sms messages cannot be charged, so while most everyone has a personal mobile phone on which they receive calls it is generally much less expensive for individuals living in densely packed Bogota to simply walk out onto the street and make a call than to pay extra for the convenience of using their own cell phone (Monteverde 2010). This telecommunications structure coupled with the very high price and numerous credit barriers to having an in-home land line ensures that there is a continuing market for the cellular minutes sold by street vendors in Bogota.

This structure explains why there is a market for these minutes, but it neglects several other important questions: why do people work as informal vendors and what do they think about the work they do?

Why people work as informal vendors is a question that has many answers, but it can largely be explained by the existing literature on informal economy, a summary of which will follow in the background provided in chapter two. Most basically, people enter the informal economy, including street vending, because of high levels of unemployment, low levels of opportunity, high barriers of entry into formal commercial enterprise, and sometimes, as in the Andean case, tradition.

What vendors think about their work was not a question that the existing literature could answer for me. Very few researchers have even considered the meaning of work for the informally employed or anything about what they think. Those who have considered these questions have either studied very specific populations or asked

questions from other angles that don't necessarily encompass what I want to know. There is a body of literature that asks exactly that question about the meaning of work, but to workers in low status and stigmatized dirty work, not specifically informal workers or informal vendors. So with all of that in mind I have endeavored in this master's thesis project to begin to fill a little of this gap and silence my own nagging curiosity about what cellular minutes vendors think about their work of selling cellular minutes informally on the street in Bogota, Colombia.

By choosing to explore the occupational ideology and occupational identity of informal vendors of cellular minutes, a particular type of informal vending which has extremely low barriers to entry, and is often associated with *ambulantes* (meaning that they are ambulatory vendors who move about) I am choosing to explore occupational ideology where it is least likely to have a strong hold and in comparing my findings to theories and observations made in the Global North where economic realities are much more constant I am essentially exploring the effects of this Global South environment on occupational group ideology in stigmatized work. I will draw on Tajfel and Turner's Social Identity Theory (1986) to understand how the occupational ideology of informal vendors is formed out of their collective social identity. This theory has been used extensively in exploring meaning and identity among dirty workers and other low-status occupational groups. Based on the extensive testing and application of Social Identity Theory one can make the basic assumption that a collective social identity exists wherever a group exists. The evidence from the minimal group studies done by Tajfel and Turner, as well as the decades of testing that other scholars have done in numerous

experimental and real world settings justifies this basic assumption and allows me to analyze the survey responses of vendors on both the individual and group levels.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND

Informal economy was only noted with any theoretical regard in the beginning in the twentieth century as rural-urban migration and rapidly growing populations in the Global South made it very obvious as something significantly different from the formalized economy. Early scholars varied in their responses to informality. Some named it in a Marxian sense as an excessive reserve army of labor, others called it a tertiary sector, but I choose to use the differentiation that anthropologist Keith Hart used in his 1971 ILO sponsored study of Ghana's labor markets as formal and informal. Formal employment is marked by salaried work and contracts, whereas informal employment is often self-employment and any organization around it is much smaller. The general characteristics of informal economy and informal employment that Hart noted are, as Portes and Schuaffer (1993: 39) summarize them,

> (L)ow entry barriers to entrepreneurship in terms of skills and capital requirements; family ownership of enterprises; small scale of operation; labor-intensive production with outdated technology; and unregulated and competitive markets.

This understanding of the informal economy allowed scholars in the 1970s and 1980s to continue to critique the need for such a sector, while praising the individuals who had created such a vibrant sector in response to the economic challenges they face (Stewart 1982)(Castells and Portes 1989)(De Soto 1989)(Portes and Schauffler 1993). I prefer this understanding of the informal economy, for just that reason. In Colombia the definition and variables used to measure levels of informal employment vary, but have included: health/pension contributions, firms with less than 10 employees, unpaid family workers, domestic workers, and non-professional/non-technical self-employed workers (Bernal 2009). These indicators generally comply with the broader definition provided by Hart in his ILO studies and are pretty compatible with the criteria I use for screening potential participants. My definition is based on location in street/sidewalk/plaza and the lack of affiliation with major corporate telecommunications companies, which generally means that one works either for oneself, a family member or is one of a handful of employees generally paid daily or weekly and receiving no benefits or contract. The definition of who is an informal worker versus a formal worker is highly contested. This is understandable, because measurements of the levels of informal employment in a given country can affect the perception of a national economy in international arenas and markets.

Most of the literature on Informal Economy is part of what I call the Macro-Economic Policy Making literature, meaning that is it is concerned largely with providing massive amounts of quantitative data to the national governments and inter-governmental agencies (such as the ILO or UNICEF). This research serves the purposes of helping

them to understand and form policies that effectively respond to the informal economy and is mostly for poverty reduction and/or development efforts. From a historical perspective one can easily tease out a great deal of information from Latin American history and the colonial and post-colonial history about the informal economy, despite the fact that it was not named as such until the later part of the 20th century. (Stewart 1982) (Danesh 1991)(Armet 2005)

There is also a small, but growing amount of mostly ethnographic work on contemporary informal workers that highlights a variety of aspects of their work: from the relationships between informal workers to the concerns of female direct sellers over their ability to achieve a work family balance that meets ideals of motherhood as both a provider and a care giver. These varied perspectives on the common phenomenon of informal employment and the informal economy provide us with a more well-rounded perspective on Latin American economies and the social position of the informally employed so that one can understand both the great similarities and differences between the position of the 'dirty' worker, the garbage man or janitor, in the Global North and the informal workers of the Global South. (Masi de Casanova 2011) (Agadjanian 2002)

History of Informal Economy in Latin America

An extra-legal economy with large rates of participation has existed in Latin America, especially in the Andean region, since the Incan Empire and the Spanish Conquest that followed it. As the result of colonial tributes and forced labor, imposed upon the Andean populations by the Spanish Crown as early as the sixteenth century, many native Andeans used informality and migration as tools to manage tribute

requirements and to maintain cultural separateness from Spanish and *Criollo* (European heritage Latin Americans) populations. Migrant workers who left their home villages to live and work as *forasteros* or strangers in other areas of the viceroyalty were exempt from tribute. Women who wished to stay in their homes and therefore needed to pay tributes would travel from their homes to the larger population centers and the capitals of the colonial viceroyalties to sell their artisan goods, produce, and other small items on the streets informally. These female vendors came to be known as *cholas*. As these migrant female workers, in addition to some largely isolated domestic workers, became the only Andean faces that many city dwelling *Criollos* saw on a regular basis, they largely represented all Andeans in the *Criollo* imagination. The word *chola* (and its masculine *cholo*) became a general, though somewhat derogatory, term for all native Andeans. Across Latin America this meaning varies from country to country, but its essence is always centered on small scale merchants and usually indigenous populations. (Kellogg 2005)

In the Post-Colonial period the role of these vendors remained much the same, with written accounts of informality being found in literature and historical documents. The famed Mexican historian Fernando Horcasitas in his Spanish translation of a Nahuatl indigenous history of the people of Milpa Alta around the time of the Mexican Revolution describes the women of the village then refugees in Mexico City baking and selling breads and other sweets in the main plazas (1968). Their survival efforts in the informal economy were made necessary as a result of the brutal murder of their non-revolutionary spouses by the national army. In the 20th century, especially Post-World

War II, with the shift of many Latin American economies toward policies of import substitution and growing domestic industrial bases much of the formerly very rural population travelled to the industrializing cities and regional capitals in hopes of increased incomes and educational opportunities. Often as in the case that Horcasitas cites, this was additionally fueled by efforts to flee from rural violence and civil wars. In 1950 the percent of the Latin American population living in urban areas was only 41%, but by the year 1985 it was 69% and projected to be over 75% at the turn of the century in the region (Scheiener 1990). This mass migration unfortunately overshot the actual availability of jobs in the new industrial sectors. An additional push factor in many Latin American countries was the large number of internal conflicts and civil wars which marked the region in the 20th century; this has been especially marked in Colombia where a continual internal conflict has raged since the 1940s and continues to claim lives today. The push of economic and conflict related refugees into major Latin American cities contributed greatly to the need for increased informal employment as means of maintaining a large reserve army of labor without the benefits of any kind of welfare state apparatus that you might find in more wealthy Global North countries. (Portes and Schauffler 1993)

The 20th Century Migrations

Strong depictions of Latin American informal workers and vendors and the migrations that led to the growth of their populations begin largely with the 1989 publication of *El Otro Sendero* (The Other Path) by Hernando de Soto with the Instituto de Libertad y Democracia (ILD) in Lima, Peru. De Soto and his colleagues at the ILD put

together a case study of the Peruvian informal economy and its evolution during the middle of the twentieth century when Lima experienced a huge population swell as migrants flooded the city from the countryside. This book begins with a brief introduction to Andean migration to Lima in the early twentieth century and a thick description of the economic situation into which migrants enter. De Soto and his colleagues assert that nothing of the migrants' background matters save their economic position in Lima, as they are rapidly transformed into a monolithic block of informals. This group, which constitutes the vast majority of the 'popular classes' (as de Soto terms them), is involved in three distinct informal sectors: housing, trade, and transport.

Informal housing is the result of a lack of affordable housing in and around Lima. This forces low income migrants to either cram themselves into slum dwellings or to seize unoccupied lands (mostly state controlled) and build settlements of their own. Informal trade, which de Soto reports has been a common practice among Andean migrants since the colonial period, includes numerous distinct levels of entrepreneurship. These include intermittent street vending, fixed street vending, informal markets and informal production. Informal transport is based on de Soto's claims is the most useful and most dangerous of Lima's informal sectors. As state-owned public transit generally failed in Lima, leaving most with the informal transit as their only option and these fleets were generally highly polluting and largely undermined public safety because of their very aggressive driving habits. De Soto labels and describes the various levels and types of informal economic activities that are common to Lima and most Latin American cities of including those which lack its size and importance. This labeling and the definitions of

structure are elements which one can see reflected in other researchers' work (Agadajanian 2002) and used as a structural foundation for much of the contemporary research in the area.

The population surge which de Soto (1989) attributes to the growth of the informal economy in Lima is also noted by Schiener (1990) in her geographical analysis of Latin American cities and their boom in the 20th century. She highlights the fact that, by the end of the 20th century, more than 75% of Latin Americans had become urban dwellers, whereas that percentage was only 41% in 1950. The rapid hyper-urbanization of Latin American countries, especially in South America's Southern Cone, is something that Schiener links with the large and growing informal or tertiary sector, as she calls it. Though her estimates of informal employment are much lower (30% for Bogota) than many ILO, DANE and independent researchers estimates, which are 55-65% of the work force (Bernal 2006), she acknowledges the very important role that such a large informal economic sector plays in Latin American cities and the development of the region. She focuses her analysis on the major events of the early twentieth century that kicked off the urbanization process. She notes that it was partially the result of political and economic unrest and partially the result of urban industrialization, both of which drove formerly rural refugees looking for safe haven and work into the major cities and capitals of Latin American countries. As these surges often overshot the demands for labor in the newly minted industries, the informal sector grew along with the populations.

Work and the Current Economic Situation in Bogota

In the 21st century, the labor situation in Latin America has seen little improvement and the decline of formerly strong unions has led to increased vulnerabilities for workers in both the formal and informal sectors. The continued economic woes are reflected in the bitter power struggles between the select economic and political elites and the largely informally employed masses.

Linares (2006) and Donavon (2008) describe similar situations in Bogota, Colombia, and Santiago, Chile, where the ability of informal vendors to operate in the public space of plazas and sidewalks is being compromised and they are forced to fight against powerful governmental and financial elites who have long been attempting to push them out of these capital cities and segregate them into poorest neighborhoods. Numerous reforms and control tactics have been attempted in both cities, but it seems that the formal economy would need to expand dramatically to accept millions of new workers. The likelihood of these reforms having a significant effect on the sheer volume of street vendors seems small. This highly stressful economic and political situation has not only made trade increasingly difficult for these vendors, but it has also increased the public stigma of vendors. That stigma is evidenced in the legal grey area that the vendors occupy with constitutional courts guaranteeing their right to livelihood, while local municipal authorities continue to enforce ordinances that ban vendors from the sidewalks and plazas where they act out their livelihoods.

Plaza San Victorino in the heart of central Bogota is a perfect example of the public space/livelihood battle that has been waged between the power elite and the

informal vendors. This large plaza was once the central depot for wealthy Bogotanos hiring drivers to leave the city for vacations in the countryside. During the mid-late 20th century, as the city had expanded exponentially it became part of the central shopping district and was taken over by vendors who constructed their own haphazard storefronts and paid off officials in the mayor's office to protect their investments (Donovan 2008). As some officials in the mayor's office began to see these vendors as possible enablers for the increasing violence in the city they began passing ordinances prohibiting the permanent occupation of the public space by private vendors. This meant that vendors could exist, but they couldn't have fixed vending spots and they must be constantly on the move. As part of the changes in the structure many of the established vendors were offered the ability to rent kiosks from the city. These kiosks are positioned about a block apart and are small enough to not block the sidewalk traffic and to be easily sealed up in the evenings to avoid theft .Unfortunately, the 354 kiosks are not enough to replace the hundreds (some estimates thousands) of small self-made kiosks that existed across the city or provide work for the ever increasing number of daily migrants who continue to arrive in Bogota, as internally displaced people, as well as others looking for work. (IPES 2007) (Donovan 2008)

Current unemployment levels in Colombia have remained fairly steady, though declining slightly, over the past several years. During the months of data collection in December 2011/January 2012 the level was fairly typical at 12.5% with the urban unemployment in the 13 main metros at 13.3% and Bogota itself had a rate of 9.8% for November 2011 through January 2012, which was the same as the previous year's rate

(Portal de la Ciudad de Bogota 2012). Though these rates seem fairly modest by Latin American standards the rates of informal employment add to the picture. Nationally the Colombian rate of informal employment for the period December 2011-February 2012 was 50.5% of the active labor force in urban Colombia's 13 main metro areas, using the DANE definition of informal employment as one who is working for firms with less than 10 employees, unpaid family workers, domestic workers, and non-professional/non-technical self-employed workers (Bustamante Roldán et al 2012). This definition leaves out many educated workers who have been forced into the informal labor market and it includes workers from many small firms which are formal and provide their employees with all required benefits and contracts. It still gives a strong approximation of the size of the informal labor force, as compared with other measures. Raquel Bernal's (2009) analysis of numerous variables for measuring informality finds that most of the more popular means (lack of pension and health, 10 or less in firm, and receiving all mandated state benefits) of assessing the size of the informal economy show the Colombian informal sector ranging from 55-71% of the labor force when based on the raw data from the *Encuesta Continua de Hogares* (Continual Survey of Households) August-December 2006. Sally Roever's (2010) research uncovered that in Bogota in 1996 20% of the informal work force were street vendors and in absolute numbers that was about 220,000 (19.8% of the informal workforce) workers rising to 558,000 in 2005. This means that street vendors make up roughly one-sixth of the 3.1 million strong Bogotano labor force.

Across the Global South there are millions of street vendors who are understood as backwards elements preventing modernization in some places, suffering

underemployment in others, and are viewed as enterprising creative micro-entrepreneurs in yet other places. In all of these places they lack the protections of formal employment with contracts, fixed wages, social security and freedom from police persecution. This is why it is particularly important to find out what these workers think about their occupations and how the social stigma which is partly evidenced by and partly contributed to by the lack of legal protections for these workers is so important. The absolute employment figures suggest that informal vendors, especially in Bogota, have little or no choice in their occupation, because of high unemployment rates, even higher rates of informality and the lack of social welfare nets. The questions I would like to address in further research are:

- What is the effect of that lack of choice on the social identity and occupational ideology of the workers in this occupation?
- Are they able to find advantages and positive aspects to this or are they strictly always looking for something better?
- Who affects the opinions of these vendors about their work?

In summation, there are many different ways of exploring the phenomenon of informal employment and street vending in Latin American. It takes looking at all of these competing narratives to understand the location of informal vendors in Colombian society. From there I argue that one can gain an understanding of the social taint that their occupation carries, though the occupation is a very common one in tough economic times, and how these factors may affect the negotiation of occupational identity and the formation of occupational ideology among informal street vendors. Do vendors take their

cues from the large social narratives, from their fellow vendors that they meet on the street, from their clients or some other source?

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This literature review will pull from two primary literatures that reflect the work in the field which this research contributes and the theoretical lens through which I analyze it. These are the literature of dirty work occupations, of social stigma and of Social Identity Theory. I will provide an overview of the diverse settings and usages of Social Identity Theory and then begin to consider its appropriateness for analyzing the response of informal vendors in Bogota to social stigma and the emergence of an occupational ideology that reinforces a positive identity and distinctiveness of informal vendors. Unfortunately, this literature largely neglects international settings outside of North America and Europe, and almost entirely overlooks the informal economy. Despite this, it is easy to see the similarities in the stigma attached to informal work as a very close reflection of the stigma or taint attached to dirty jobs and some deviant occupations, such as scavenging, janitorial work and sewer maintenance among others. I will locate this thesis in the literature as a pilot approach to begin further investigations into the exploration of occupational ideology outside of the Global North.

Dirty Jobs in the North, Informal Jobs in the South

The literature on occupational ideology describes the ways that groups of individuals sharing a common livelihood have cultivated shared meanings of work and of prestige based esteem. In the same way that Danesh (1991) states in the opening pages of his bibliography of informal economy that, "the existing formalized institutions and their accompanied bureaucratized arrangements have been losing ground in providing the necessary resources for the people and their government to nourish life (2)" so has the existing literature on informal economy failed to explain the occupational ideology that accompanies, "the poor's improvisation to create jobs (3)". This leads me to connect the occupational ideology of informal workers to the way that stigmatized workers, low-prestige workers, and the people who do dirty jobs massage the rough edges off their work and emphasize the silver linings (Ghidina, 2006) to raise their group prestige and alleviate their stigma. The dirty workers of the Global North appear to occupy about the same social space (however they have legal protections) as the informal workers, including street vendors, of the Global South. That makes this type of occupational ideology more fit for comparison to informal workers, than to the ideology of highly skilled high prestige workers like doctors and lawyers whose ideologies are widely held and known by the general population outside of the profession. As Danesh says, these are individuals who take part in, "informal economy, unstructured labor markets, and grass-root participation…regardless of how the prevailing public morality judges them (2)".

Informal workers and especially informal street vendors experience a level of stigma that is very similar to that of a worker who performs dirty jobs and therefore I

contend that it is appropriate to use the existing body of knowledge and literature on dirty jobs and occupational ideology to begin to understand these workers and the factors shaping their occupational ideology. Kreiner, Ashforth, and Sluss (2006) propose a typology of dirty work occupations, through a 3x2 model exploring the breadth and depth of stigma. They examine taint as applying to three realms the physical, such as the taint an embalmer experiences through contact with the dead; the social, such as the taint that prison guards experience through contact with the criminally deviant, and the moral, such as a bill collector experiences through contact with potentially reprehensible actions.

Informal street vending contains pervasive taint as well as two of the three types of taint. Cellular minutes street vendors experience physical taint by virtue of their presence on the street, the physical location of their work. This is especially the case in Bogota where the streets in many areas are polluted by the high density traffic of buses, motorists and the omnipresent motorcycles and scooters, in addition to the pile up of physical waste and garbage. This environment literally and figuratively sullies even the cleanest vendor by the end of a working day. Social taint is experienced by informal vendors through their persecution by public officials, specifically the mayor's office, the city police, and their portrayal in major media outlets as dangerous, dirty and even sometimes as deviant individuals who are the physical embodiment of the dirtying of the city's streets. This is deepened by the frequent experience of being made to flee from police, running on foot and hoping that their carts, merchandise, and phones won't be confiscated. The near criminalization of the occupation places the identity of vendors in a

very precarious position; however, the sheer number of street vendors in the city bolsters that same identity and gives it further validity.

Despite the interest in occupational identity and ideology in the world's most industrialized countries there is a significant lack of work in developing nations. Colombia occupies a space in the global spectrum of wealth and development that puts it in a straddling position experiencing both the problems of the industrial/post-industrial nation and those of the export only banana republics. It is a high middle income nation, though unlike the nations of the Southern Cone, it has been unable to translate that level of wealth into positive human development. Literacy remains a significant and stagnant problem, the rates of vaccinations in children of school-age have been slightly declining in the past decade and the country seems to exist in a cycle where it experiences periods of peace and development which are shortly followed by periods of violence and civil unrest, which undo any progress previously made. Bogota, as the capital city, is the most highly populated and most heavily industrialized of Colombian cities and is a queer place where like numerous Global South capitals one can encounter extreme wealth and devastating poverty side by side. In this upside down world (Galeano 2001) I think it is worth consideration to make the comparison between workers of comparative prestige in the Global North. At the same time, one must keep in mind that there are significant cultural and economic differences between the dirty workers of the Global North and the informally employed of the Global South. Both types of workers are occupying a stigmatized space and performing work that while necessary is less than desirable.

Literature on Dirty Jobs

In general, texts on work and occupations such as Ritzer and Walczak's (1986) *Working: Conflict and Change* or Pavalko's (1977) *Sociology of Occupations and Professions* approach occupational ideology in a way as to provide useful definitions of the phenomenon for foundational understanding. Pavalko (192) presents occupational ideologies as being most easily differentiated based on their level of influence. Parochial and Ecumenic ideologies are the two main groups with parochial ideologies being very specific and limited to the members of the occupational group, whereas ecumenic ideologies move beyond the occupational group to become closely identified with other groups and/or large segments of the public. These highly dispersed ideologies could be exemplified by the typologies of blue or white collar workers with the personal characteristic and class implications that their associated stereotypes carry.
Pavalko states that all occupational ideologies function to interpret the work in such a way that its importance will be enhanced in the eyes of those who do the work and in the eyes of the public. Only a few professions have had their ideologies well documented, and interestingly people rate the prestige of their own occupation (or similar occupations) much higher than the general public does. Ideologies raise the prestige and self-importance of members of a profession.

By surveying informal vendors I am beginning the process of documenting the ideology of informal vendors in the third world, a group which despite being one of the largest international occupational groups has not been studied through the lens of occupational identity and ideology. These ideologies can serve not only to uplift the

workers, but also to protect the members of the group from legal/political attacks, keep internal discipline, give new members self-respect and give meaning to the work. Ritzer and Walczak expand on this by saying that occupational ideology moderates the relationship between the occupation and its members with the larger society, meaning that the ideology takes to place of individual explanations of the occupation in daily interaction and the general public imagination. They note that not all occupations have 'coherent perspectives' and the ideology must be accepted by the members of an occupational group to be considered as such but, different segments can hold different ideologies and the ideologies don't have to be based on fact. They just need to be accepted by the members of the occupation.

Ideologies don't even have to accurately describe the situation or the members of an occupational group, because they describe perception and perspectives, not necessarily a strictly factual reality. They state that "...one of the functions of the ideologies of many deviant occupations is that they 'neutralize the stigma' that is associated with the occupation and its members." (p. 391) I would like to add to that that as stigma is also experienced by dirty and low prestige workers, ideologies can hold the same significance for the members of occupations experiencing other dirtying forms of taint or stigma, not just strictly deviant occupations (Kreiner et.al 2006).

Ritzer and Walzak provide numerous examples of the way this plays out, including through the concept of independence as a key to many occupational dirty work ideologies. This key factor advantages workers over the less stigmatized, but more heavily structured workers, such as those in factory settings, where alienation is known to

be high and a source of occupational dissatisfaction. For example, taxi drivers buy their cabs out of a desire for autonomy more than a desire for entrepreneurship. They seek to avoid the alienation that confronts fellow unskilled and semi-skilled workers who spend their workdays within an organization, "This freedom from organizational control has the positive consequence of reducing alienation and the negative effect of increasing conflict with clients." (p.317) Neutralization techniques (144), which are tools used to alleviate or neutralize stigma, can be used in semi-deviant occupations to relieve the stress of the occupation, while highlighting the intrinsic rewards of the job. Learning these techniques is part of informal socialization in the job. An example of this would be a veteran garbage man on the job who explains over a coffee break to a new rookie that he will love this job because of all the advantages that one can't find in other occupations. Despite the disagreeable parts of the job, such as loading and unloading garbage, if you work quickly you can be home by lunchtime (Perry 1998).

As Mack (1958) notes in his article, "Occupational Ideology and the Determinate Role", "…occupation is the supreme determinant of human careers. (p.37)" This is such a powerful status that it determines all other statuses, as well as those of one's friends and family. He sets out to understand how the occupation shapes the person and to do this he develops a typology of occupations based on mobility, stability, aspiration and occupational ideology. He classifies occupations on a continuum between determinate and indeterminate. Indeterminate occupations are done as instrumental work with the workers seeking something more, outside of the occupation, whereas those in determinate work, because they have achieved a major goal in obtaining the training to enter into their

field, will see their goals within the context of their specific occupation. Mack tested his hypothesis using an open-ended questionnaire with over two thousand white male respondents in the United States. Mack found that the correlation between ideology and determinateness existed and acted as expected. Engineers (highly determinate workers) focused on the occupation and things like having interesting and challenging work, whereas salesmen (highly indeterminate workers) were more focused on meeting monetary or life goals, such as making enough money to send their kids to college. Bankers (middle of the row level of determinacy) often switched back and forth. Based on these classifications I would assume that Mack would classify informal vendors with next to no barriers to entry in the occupation as highly indeterminate and therefore assume that their primary concerns and occupational ideologies are based around their ability to achieve non-occupational goals and raise their occupational and social status.

In a very interesting article on the Flea Market, Maisel (1974) explores an iteration of the informal economy in the Global North, through the action and interaction of the weekend Flea or Penny Market, as it appears in Northern California. He approaches the bargaining and vending of the bustling market place as an action scene, in the way that Goffman's concept of 'action' is used, making one wonder if the action is a major advantage that the vendors view as a silver lining to their work in the market. Could this be a factor in creating the occupational ideology of vendors? Is that another way of talking about the relationships formed in the vending setting, plazas, which mimic what Maisel describes in the Flea Market setting? He describes pricing as an issue for flea marketers that creates an entrepreneurial game of wits between veteran vendors and

buyers. He describes a 'conversation of gestures' (Mead 1934) that occurs at the beginning of a negotiation or bargaining session. Differences in bargaining etiquette and styles occur in various cultural contexts and he notes that no specific etiquette seems to rule in the flea market in California. It appears to be a multicultural environment with numerous ethnic stereotypes and differences in bargaining backgrounds, which sometimes cause conflicts. Though conflicts occasionally arise, vendors generally chat about the excellent character of their clients and the windfalls and/or hidden gems that might bless them with the upward mobility many hope to achieve by way of their market earnings. Tales of character and the strengths of the personal attributes of vendors are common among the vendors with whom Maisel works and he finds they highlight their own enlightened virtues as a means of glossing over the less than glamorous aspects of their work that often involves dealing with rude clients. Maisel notes that these tales have the additional benefit of reinforcing the vendors' notion of their own freedom to act, to vend or not and to choose their clientele. It is their means of exercising a small degree of power over their occupational lives and their perception of self. In these ways the flea market vendors are able to overcome negative market myths and establish a sense of self as entrepreneurs, using their wits and expecting their ship to come in soon. These flea market vendors evidence the same valuing of relationships and interactions with clients. Then stress silver linings in their work just as janitors interviewed almost twenty years later by Marcia Ghidina.

In Ghidina's (1992) article on the meaning of work and creation of positive occupational identities by custodians in school settings (K-12 and University) she

outlines numerous techniques used by the custodians interviewed to align their occupational perceptions with positive self-perceptions. She discusses the importance of social relations, especially with those who are clients or occupants of the spaces being cleaned by the custodian. She notes that these relationships have a dual purpose of serving as a "self-enhancing aspect of work" (82) and additionally these social relations when positively achieved provide the mirror of positive enhancements in which the custodians see themselves. An example is the custodian who shares gardening tips and seedlings with the university professors who occupy the building they clean. In being treated as a friend and equal in these interactions the custodian feels a boost in their self-image. Also, these interactions can create a feeling of responsibility that they are needed by the occupants, whom they now see as friends. This gives additional meaning to the menial tasks they are performing, because they are being done for the benefit of others for whom the custodian feels a personal connection. The descriptions she gives of the justifications and coping mechanisms that the custodians use to create a positive social identity for themselves appear to me to be actions which fit quite well with the social creativity. Social creativity is what Social Identity Theory predicts that members of a social group for whom mobility is not possible, but for whom stability and security largely exist. They are able to attribute meaning to their work through comparative frames and they therefore redefine the positive characteristics of their group (or occupation) without engaging in direct challenges to the out-group's superiority (Haslam 2004).

In a similar vein Stewart Perry's book *Collecting Garbage: Dirty Work, Clean Jobs, Proud People* (1998) explores the positive effects of ownership, relationships with other workers and the value of independence as factors which play a significant role in the overwhelming contentment with their jobs that the garbage men of the Sunset Scavengers Cooperative express. Maintaining a quite long relationship with these men over several years, Perry explores their ethnic identity as a mostly homogenous group of first and second generation Italian immigrants and their ownership in the cooperative as less of a financial incentive (though it did provide a degree of protection) and more of a sign of respect and a spot of pride for these workers whose tasks are quite laborious and frankly dirty. The close familial and friendship ties forged by these men are the main points that most of them offer up in their descriptions of their jobs. Perry shows how the binding social ties of the organization and the community are the glue that keeps young men who might be able to find less dirty and comparably paid work elsewhere going into this occupation for several generations.

Taking a very long look at the historical changes and perceptions of Paris's sewer men Donald Reid explores their changing roles, environment and coping mechanisms in his book *Paris Sewers and Sewermen: Realities and Representations* (1991). Reviewing ethnographic work of lay researchers and varying other reports from mostly physicians in the 18th and 19th century, Reid provides a historical overview of the transformation of Parisian sewers and the political transformations that accompanied it. Important elements which he explored of the sewermen themselves include their socially isolationist behaviors and the very real dangers of their occupation. He describes how the sewermen,

who all knew each other quite well and watched each other's backs in very dangerous situations would often socialize outside of work only among themselves and their close families. These workers were affected by serious health hazards and problems, and few maintained long term careers as sewermen. The mean time frame he reports was approximately seven years, which is a substantial length of time for such a dangerous occupation and while it included decent blue collar pay, it appears as though the social relations with co-workers, who were also close friends, may have been a more significant contributing factor to the longevity of workers than pay. Another important factor that Reid notes is the metaphor of tranquility that the workers used to contrast their place of work with Paris during several periods of political instability.

In all of these portraits of dirty and/or stigmatized workers common ideologies emphasizing their social relationships with coworkers and clients, and their independence on the job surface as key advantages to their work that enable members of these occupational groups to paint themselves in a better light than they might otherwise have, based solely on a the physical taint that comes with their dirty work occupations. This in-group preference and the techniques they use for bolstering a positive group identity and by extension individual identity is part of what Tajfel and Turner are describing when they lay out what is the foundation of Social Identity Theory in 1979.

Social Identity Theory

Social Identity Theory was first proposed by Tajfel and Turner in 1979 in a book chapter in *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations* as a way of understanding inter-group relations and discrimination, it was primarily supported by minimal group

studies where study participants more or less randomly assigned group membership and shortly exhibited in-group bias by choosing scenarios where they maximized the relative value difference between monies given to their fellow group members as opposed to members of other groups, even at the detriment of the overall value of monies received by the in-group. These experiments where called minimal group studies because the group members were randomly assigned, therefore the members had the most minimal ties to the group. With minimal ties to the group, researchers had assumed that members would be highly unlikely to show in-group bias, but contrary to this assumption the group members continued to discriminate against out-groups. Tajfel and Turner theorize that once an individual has been categorized they then define themselves in terms of that group or category membership and they seek to positively enhance their self-esteem by positively distinguishing their group in comparison with comparable out groups (Haslam 2004). So while a plumber wouldn't generally compare his group to a group of doctors, he would certainly look at mechanics for meaningful comparison and a chance for positive differentiations, as this is a group with a similar level of training and against whom the plumber would be more likely to be able to distinguish his occupational group based on income, the trust of his clients or some other means of saying that his group is ahead of another group. This theory has been used primarily as a model for understanding organizational identity in the business world and conflicts in the corporate arena. Therefore the most extensive literature making use of it is in the business management journals, but it remains ever useful for the social sciences in understanding how identity shapes group and individual actions and how it affects the perception of self and meaning

of work in the case of occupational group membership. (Ashforth and Mael 1989) (Ashforth and Kreiner 1999)

While one might argue that group identity is much stronger when understood in formal organizational settings, such as Ashforth and Mael's (1989) discussion of organizational identification and Social Identity Theory, and is therefore not suitable to informal street vendors because of their disbursement or lack of formal organization, I see that the urban patterns of Latin American cities with numerous plazas where vendors often congregate for purposes of trade, as well as the strong network of protective trade unions that enable the collective ideology of informal vendors, as members of an occupational group, to be created. Additionally, considering that SIT has the flexibility in its origins with minimal group settings in its understanding of group membership, as many researchers including note that simply assigning group membership leads to behavioral changes and in-group favoritism (Ashforth and Mael 1989)(Haslam 2004). Haslam explains that, "...the only necessary and sufficient prerequisite for discrimination was the existence of an in-group/out-group division (p 20)." In essence, this means that the demonizing of *ambulantes* in news media and mayoral rhetoric in many ways names the group and in doing so creates the in-group/out-group division largely, though not exclusively along class lines, as well as between formal and informal low income workers. This encourages a responsive occupational/group ideology, so that vendors can maintain a positive group and therefore self-image. Part of what I am testing in this thesis is the cohesiveness of this response. The vendors, though many do, need not interact with one another or accept one another, as the effects of group identity are dependent on one's

internal perception of one as a member of a social group or class of workers, not so much on actual membership actions (Tajfel & Turner 1986). The distinctiveness of the group strengthens the likelihood of identification therefore reifying the group and the difference between in-group members and out-group members. No matter whether that distinctiveness is positive or negative, this has held true throughout the 30 years of testing and exploration. Awareness of an out-group strengthens the in-group identification and in a highly stratified society, where a large part of occupational identification and ideology is tightly linked with class identity and class values, the case for an occupational identity and ideology for informal workers becomes in theory ever stronger. I make the argument that, based on the literature, Social Identity theory is flexible enough to be applied to informal vendors in Colombia and that the ideologies formed by them as a group will reflect the predictive patterns of Tajfel and Turner (1979) as explained by Haslam (2004).

Figure 1. SIT-Strategies for Achieving Positive Social Identity (Haslam 2004:25)

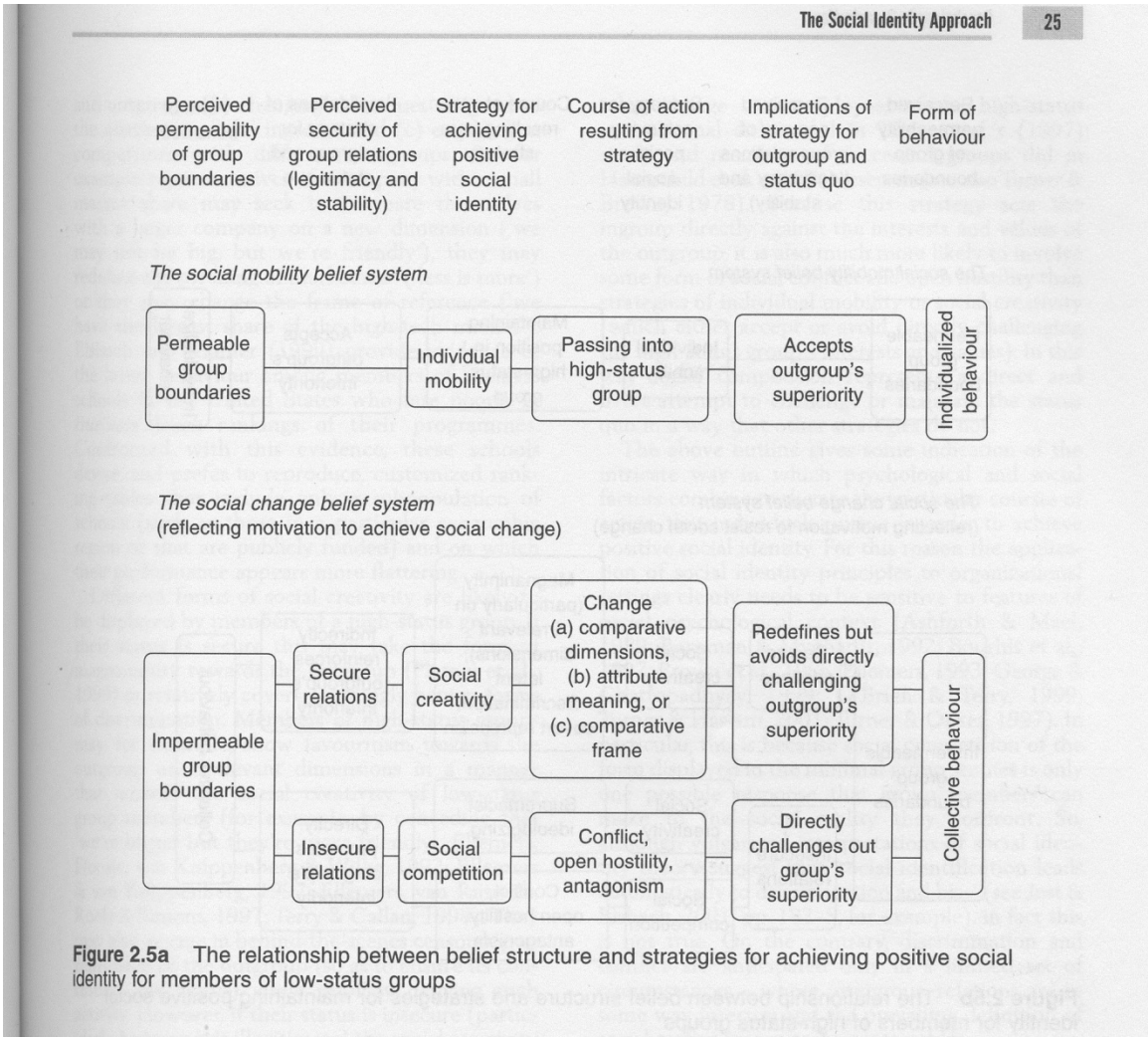

Figure 2.5a The relationship between belief structure and strategies for achieving positive social identity for members of low-status groups

This means that vendors would take part in one of the three means of enhancing their group identity: individual mobility or where that is not possible, social creativity and social competition. In the case of informal cellular minutes vendors mobility seems unlikely, based on the outlook of the overall economy and the highly stratified nature of the social order in Latin America, so one would look for social creativity and social competition as strategies for achieving a positive social identity.

Ashforth and Kreiner (1999) noted the extensive use of social creativity by member of dirty work professions to make their occupational identities more positive. Tajfel and Turner define social creativity as, "…redefining or altering the elements of the comparative situation." (1986:20). This is generally done in one of three ways: 1) comparing on a new dimension, 2) changing the positive/negative valuations of previously compared attributes, or 3) changing the out-group against whom the in-group is compared. Social creativity is largely evidenced through engaging in comparison with different out-groups, reassessing the values assigned to the characterizations of the in-group (social weighting), and finding new ways and elements on which to compare in and out groups. Ashforth and Kreiner argue that the stigma of dirty work creates especially strong group ideologies and cultures through which individuals can access the group level tools to effectively moderate the stigma and arrive at a positive social identity for their group and for themselves. They are likely to support their supporters, deny any credence to those who condemn them and make selective social comparisons which paint themselves in a good light. They are also likely to withdraw from social activities with members of out-groups and therefore they have the insular effect of a subculture and experience fewer perceived threats to their group identity as their preferred social engagements occur with members of the same occupational group.

In conclusion, the literatures on occupational dirty work and Social Identity Theory inform this research in that they provide a foundational understanding of group responses to stigma. This includes understanding that an ideology of independence often serves as a means of social creativity to reframe the group identity in a positive light.

This literature sheds light on the possible factors which may influence the views of informal street vendors in Bogota as I explore their opinions and perceptions about their occupation.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

Surveying as a Methodology

For this thesis project I use a survey methodology, seeking a wide lens panoramic snapshot of the views of informal cellular minutes vendors in Bogota about their work and the meaning it has for them. This social survey is a descriptive social survey as I seek to establish the existence (or not) of group identity and occupational ideology among the Colombian informal street vendor, describe that experience and compare it with that of other classes of dirty workers to whom social identity theory has previously been applied. While the literature on survey methodology generally seeks to describe and present ideal cases for examination, this is unrealistic in my case. The great value of a small-scale survey project is that it can serve as the launching point for a larger survey effort and/or can begin to be used along with numerous other small-scale projects to build a case for the generalizable results that one seeks with this methodology. (Wadsworth 2011) (Punch 2003)

While numerous arguments exist that both support and dispute the claim that surveying can be used to make causal arguments or create theoretical frameworks (Marsh 1982), I find that neither as a methodological claim is necessary to support the validity of

claims which I hope to make based on my survey project, as this is a small project with a very limited sample size (203 respondents). I only seek to begin the flow of research inthe direction of a much neglected field, by calling attention to a phenomenon occurring within a population which is often overlooked and even more rarely approached from the direction of a survey methodology, the basic characteristics of the population making this kind of endeavor difficult. I will give an initial description and cursory analysis of this phenomenon using Social Identity Theory, compare it to the existing body of literature on dirty work occupations with the hope that this contribution to the literature with cause others to take notice of an under-represented population that deserves further inquiry.

Questionnaires as a Method

The technique which I use within the context of my social survey was a face to face researcher-administered questionnaire. I use this in order to give me both easily measurable quantitative data and the rich qualitative experience of personal contact and conversation with vendors included in the sample. Descombe (2007) in his research guide for small scale projects suggests that face to face survey interviews, while more expensive than other means of surveying, are excellent for the richness and detail that researchers get from them. They also ensure higher response rates and have the ability to clarify any questions or uncertainties that the respondents may have. The presence of the researcher, he argues, prevents problems with low response rates on the survey in general and low response rates or confused responses on specific questions, which could potentially undermine the validity of the research. I find this to be quite true. On numerous occasions a minimal explanation or clarification of the intention behind a

question has me led to a response, where the interviewee would otherwise have left it blank for lack of understanding. This method also helps me to collect a larger sample, therefore having more generalizable conclusions, a great advantage given the limited period of time which I can afford for international travel. Had I used a longer qualitative interview process I would have had to invest heavily in the time to recruit participants, gain their trust/rapport, schedule meeting times, execute the actual interviews, and then comb through long transcripts to pull out themes and underlying data. With my survey questionnaires I am able to gain sufficient access to a population to answer my research question with little or no prior establishment of rapport, save a general explanation of the research and its purpose as outlined in my recruitment script and consent form.

Hypothesis

In this small scale research project I seek to document the key elements of the informal vendor's occupational identity and ideology in a way that allows me to later use these themes to construct an interview schedule that more closely resembles those used in prior research on occupational ideology in dirty work, but with a sensitivity to this cultural and economic context, which is far different from those in the Global North. As the strong literature on SIT allows for the basic assumption that a social identity exists among members of any group that has been labeled as a group I have structured my survey construction to document the potential ideology as well as key indicators of the strength of this identity and vendors' ties to the trade, based on established themes in ideology among stigmatized occupational groups in the Global North. I hypothesize that the informal vendors in Bogota will in many ways resemble the dirty workers of the

Global North in their responses. I will measure this based on their preferred elements of their work, their like/dislike of the work, and their level of loyalty to the occupation.

Sampling and Interactions with Vendors

By using a cluster sampling method of collection I am able to balance my desire for a random representative sample of vendors with the organizational patterns of the population and my own time, space and security concerns. As Creswell (2009) points out in his text, *Research Design*, cluster sampling is ideal when it is impossible for one to know enough about the population, before surveying them, to be able to find them for purposes of surveying. Where most cluster sampling methods would fix themselves about the location of groups or organizations that represent the population and then use these to obtain more information before surveying, the very public nature of the occupation of informal vending makes locating their geographic clustering, as opposed to their organizational clustering more efficient and in this case more random. It is more random because of the low percentage of vendors who are members of organizations and the unique characteristics of the vendors who are members of collective unions and/or cooperative organizations. In locating vendors I use two maps as reference, one is a map of the public transit systems (Transmilenio); the other is the Google map of the greater Bogota metropolitan area. Additionally, I ask numerous individuals, paying special attention to those whose jobs (as research assistants and taxi drivers) require them to travel all over the city, about where the largest concentrations of vendors of cellular minutes are located in Bogota. Combining their expert knowledge of the city along with my own experiences and managing my lack of private transportation (as most Bogotanos

and informal vendors in Bogota do) I sampled along the central corridor of the city which includes the major commercial districts, the most heavily utilized public transit lines, and several plazas in other parts of the city. These were selected because of their high concentrations of informal vendors of all types and their popularity as locations known for their proximity to vital commercial centers for the lower and middle income segments of the city population.

The central corridor, which covered most of the surveyed area begins at Calle 1 and Carrera 7 and continues as far west as Carrera 15 and as far north as Calle 85. (Map in Appendix C) Additionally, I included areas outside of this range which are well known as places with a lot of informal vendors: Portal de Suba, Plaza de las Americas, Las Aguas and La Candelaria the last of which are areas with several major universities packed closely together in historic colonial parts of the city. Though I initially planned to further randomize the sample by surveying every third vendor, I quickly have found that is not possible in the field, as surrounding vendors became interested when I begin to question their fellows and they often want to contribute responses and ideas. Additionally, as the mid-morning 'downtime' of vendors between crowds on their way to work and out for lunch was generally quite brief, depending on the location, it makes sense not to waste additional time walking all over the city to find enough vendors to survey, when they would not be able to talk for very long and the opportunity might be lost. In many areas of the city I found five to ten vendors clustered in a plaza, and to survey only survey two of them would mean that the others might become wary of me and secondarily I would have to walk six or eight blocks or more before I might

encounter another group which creates major logistical problems for a researcher with limited time in country. This is compounded by the fact that these vendors often sell cellular minutes along with other goods and each one has a somewhat different offering, which could in affect their perspective. One vendor might have minutes and newspapers, while another has just minutes with five or six phone lines going at the same time. A third might be selling minutes along with sweets and cigarettes, and some vendors have much larger items, such as scarfs, umbrellas, electronic devices, etc. Thus I administer the questionnaire to every informal vendor of cellular minutes with whom I come in contact with, who consented to be questioned and was of age at the time of the survey. That includes those who use the minutes to augment sales of other items. In the geographic areas previously mentioned I have been able to obtain about a 90% response rate, including a number of teenage vendors who cannot participate because of their age.

Questionnaires take on average between ten and fifteen minutes to complete and are administered by myself with the help of a research assistant who occasionally clarified both questions and responses. The assistant helped to gain the trust of vendors who were often very curious about the motivations of a '*gringa*'(North American) to be studying informal vendors and often question me as to whether or not the mayor's office would be made aware of our research. After assuring vendors of our independent status as student researchers whose work would be published in English in the US, many vendors are quite happy to share their stories and even eager to know that someone would be talking about them in the academy. Many seemed uncertain about talking to anyone who might be associated with their own local authorities.

The eagerness of these dirty workers to share their stories echoes the work of Marcia Ghidina (1992) who noted that the custodians whom she interviewed were quite flattered that someone noticed their importance as an occupational group and were therefore quite amenable to the idea of talking openly with her about their experiences. Only one vendor has openly declined to speak with us specifically because of my status as a foreigner and this vendor evidenced a very strong dislike for all North Americans, whom she believed live wonderfully privileged lives and were not to be trusted. In general, by maintaining very modest appearances in working class style clothing and speaking formally to vendors, using the formal "Usted" (which is like saying sir/ma'am and showing respect for someone you don't know) instead of the more common "Tu" form of the second person most vendors were very kind and very open.

Many vendors have even turned down the compensation of 3,000 COP (or about 1.50 USD, based on the exchange rate at the time) that I offer them to make up for their time and any loss of sales from having given us ten to fifteen minutes of their time. Those who turned down compensation often remark that they were more than happy to help with my thesis project and that they hoped that I do well finishing my degree. They seemed to like the idea of helping out a student even more than having their own voices heard. The generosity of the informal vendors in Bogota, was actually one of the reasons why I was unable to secure longer more qualitative interviews with them. In attempting interviews with activists who are heavily involved with championing the cause of informal workers, I quickly found out after two failed interviews that they only wanted to talk about their activism and not about much of anything related to the occupational

ideology of the vendors. While I don't feel much concern about taking up the time of activists with interviews, I do have serious ethical misgivings about taking up a vendor's time knowing that they work long hours for very little pay and that, being the very generous people they are, they would likely agree to do so. Especially knowing that I was unable to compensate them for hour long interviews, I simply didn't feel right about asking. In the end I simply couldn't ask them to make that sacrifice for me. These vendors work on average more than eleven hours a day and more than six days a week. They generally don't take breaks for meals and only run to the bathroom when they have a friend who can watch their merchandise for a minute. Asking for an hour or two of their time is really a big deal as many vendors tell me quite plainly one of the major disadvantages of their work is that "*No vende no come*", if they don't sell, then they don't eat.

Survey Construction

The questions in my survey/questionnaire are divided into two sections. The first is the demographic section in which I seek to determine whom I am sampling. Because the members of occupational groups in the dirty work studies are usually fairly homogenous, it is important to note if that factor affects the group identity or the ideology. In the second section I ask questions which are more specific to the occupation, the daily acting out of that occupation and the meaning of work which is produced for and by the worker/respondent.

The demographic questions included in the questionnaire ask about gender, race, age, origin, district of residence, level of education, previous employment, and time in the

occupation. These demographic questions allow me to establish baselines by which I can begin to understand the social context from which vendors arrive on the street to sell cellular minutes and how that might inform their perspective on their current occupation. As sex and gender are generally considered as one and the same in socially conservative Catholic nation such as Colombia, it seemed to me to be unnecessary to ask about both. None of my survey respondents identified themselves outside of the strictly male/female dichotomy of sex and gender. As for race/ethnic group that question was modified after a short time, because I quickly discovered that no one who was not very obviously from a minority racial or ethnic group appreciated being asked about that from an outsider, especially a very fair skinned North American. In modifying this question, I only asked individuals who appeared to be members of minority groups, such as indigenous Andeans or Afro-Colombians. In asking about age I sought to determine the eligibility of potential participants, as they needed to be over 18 in order to participate. Secondarily, I wanted to be able to find differential trends in opinion based on generation. Finding out whether or not a vendor was a native Bogotano or migrant to Bogota is an important demographic question in the context of massive urban migrations across Latin America throughout the 20th century (Schneier 1990) which resulted largely from industrialization and economic policies which no longer supported the rural small/subsistence farming lifestyle that had previously been common in the region and additionally in Colombia was pushed by the high levels of violence from both the civil war/ internal conflict and then later the drug trade. The migrant status of a respondent can tell a little about the level of social capital that an individual has and the reach of their social network, which could be a significant

factor in the success of their vending, as well as their ability to find formal work. This was important to the garbage collectors in San Francisco who Stewart Perry (1998) interviewed, as many were Italian immigrants or the sons of immigrants, and that factored into the closeness of their relationships and the construction of their group identity. By asking respondents about their level of education and their previous occupation I also seek to find out about their social class status and potential to acquire formal or higher prestige occupations. By asking about how long they have sold cellular minutes I can learn about not only the retention of workers in this occupation, which says a lot about their feelings about the job, but also about how widely spread and disseminated is a potential occupational ideology. If someone who has been in the occupation for a very short time responds similarly to an individual who has been in the field for a very long time that can suggest that there is a strong and highly disseminated ideology about that occupation.

Questions about identity and ideology come out in the second part of the questionnaire in the form of questions about the vendor's like or dislike of the job, the advantages/disadvantages of the job, interactions with authorities, their clientele, feelings of friends and family members about their occupation, and their preference to remain in the occupation. These questions were mostly open ended and based on the interview questions and themes that previous researchers (Ghidina, 1992; Hughes, 1970; Stewart 1998) used or uncovered in their conversations with members of dirty work professions. A few of the initial questions were too vague to warrant consistent responses and were dropped pretty early in the data collection process, but most were kept and a few were

added. These included questions about the reason for choosing the products that vendors choose to vend. This is less because they contributed directly to an understanding of ideology and more because they provided great insight into the lives and decision making processes of the vendors. Many of the vendors reported using the minutes to have a daily cash flow, while more expensive items that were sold less often provided for their more substantial income.

Analysis Procedures

All questionnaires are in paper format with my bilingual field notes jotted along the margins and on the back of pages, whenever a vendor took occasion to elaborate on a response or tell an interesting story. As the data collection is in Spanish, using Spanish language questionnaires, most of the responses are recorded in Spanish, but some notes are translated on the spot, as I fear forgetting what some things mean and the exact context of some regionally particular idioms. The paper copies were scanned and saved as three very large pdf documents which I coded and entered into the quantitative statistical analysis software SPSS (PASW-Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) for analyzing the responses of the participants to the questionnaires. In Chapter V, I will discuss the statistical analysis and findings from this data, which show a very diverse group of vendors and the variation in their responses to survey questions about their opinions on their occupation. The stories, elaborations and field notes serve as exemplars, which can help to clarify the full meaning of simple a response and give some added depth to the narrative.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS

Description of the Sample Population

The population of vendors who responded to the questionnaire appears to be quite diverse with varying levels of education, union affiliation, a near even match of the gender and numerous other variables which would likely contribute to shaping their responses and perspectives on identity and occupation. The chart outlined below provides basic statistics describing the sample population's demographic characteristics.

Table 1. Key Characteristics of Questionnaire Respondents: Survey of Street Vendors in Bogota, Colombia, 2011-12

Total Number of Respondents	203	
Male Respondents	106	52.2%
Female Respondents	96	47.3%
Level of Education		
Primary or Less	85	41.9%
Less than High School	44	21.7%
High School	56	27.6%
Higher Education	18	8.9%
Age (mean)	40.9	
Race		
White/Mestizo	198	97.5%
Black/Afro-Colombian	5	2.5%
Hometown		
Bogota	130	64%
Other	73	36%
Time as a Vendor in Years (mean)	5.7	
Primary Household Income Earner	167	82.3%
Schedule		
Hours Worked Daily (mean)	11.3	
Days Worker Weekly (mean)	6.2	
Vendor also holds other Employment	10	4.9%
Police Interaction		
None	37	18.2%
Only Positive Experiences	21	10.3%
Only Negative Experiences	121	59.6%
Both Positive and Negative Experiences	24	11.8%
Is affiliated with a Workers Union	31	15.3%
Has Other Family Members Working	131	64.5%
Is Self-Employed	187	92.1%
Previous Employment Sector		
White Collar	23	11.3%
Blue Collar	57	28.1%
Service Industry	42	20.7%
Military/Police	2	1%
Dirty Job (mostly sanitation workers)	11	5.4%
Always Been Informal Vendor	58	28.6%
Out of Labor Force (mostly students and homemakers)	9	4.4%

In addition to the previously stated demographic diversity one can see above the variety of occupational backgrounds, difference in their hometown and the employment status of other members of their household. Most of the vendors are the primary breadwinners of their households, are self-employed, not union affiliated, have regular negative contact with the police. The cross tabulation charts that follow will show the demographic variables that intersect in interesting ways.

Gender is the first statistically significant way in which one can see demographic patterns emerging; the graph below illustrates that women in the sample are more likely to fall into the youngest age grouping than men and by way of an independent samples t-test I also find that there is a significant difference in their mean ages, significant at the .028 level. The mean age of women in the sample is nearly 39 years, while for men it is nearly 43 years. This difference is easier to see when the ages are grouped as is shown in the bar graph below.

Table 2. Cross-Tabulation for Gender and Age Group (in percentages)

	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	66+	Total
Male	18.8	54.7	52.8	56.5	53.3	85.7	52.7
Female	81.2	45.3	47.2	43.5	46.7	14.4	47.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

This is the only demographic factor that varies based on gender; however, there is a significant difference (at the .000 level) in the level of education achieved by vendors, based on their reported age. Using a Pearson's Correlation to test these as continuous variables, as opposed to the grouped discrete variables shown in the graph, I find that r= -.433, meaning there is a negative relationship between Age and Years of Education,

significant as the p= .01, but that the relationship is only moderately strong. This is illustrated with Age and Educational Achievement grouped in the bar chart below.

Table 3. Cross-Tabulation for Education Level and Age Group (in percentages)

	Primary or Less	Less than HS	High School	Higher Ed	Total
18-25	1.2	11.4	10.9	22.2	7.9
26-35	21.2	38.6	41.8	33.3	31.7
36-45	24.7	29.5	29.1	16.7	26.2
46-55	32.9	15.9	14.5	22.2	23.3
56-65	12.9	2.3	3.6	5.6	7.4
66+	7.1	2.3	0	0	3.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100

This shows high school and greater achievement dropping with age, where high school or greater achievement is more common among the younger vendors in the middle age and higher groups having less than primary education is the norm.

Educational achievement appears to be an indicator which has a positive correlation with the heightened likelihood that one's family members are also active in the labor force. When grouped based on Family employment for an independent samples t- test I find that there is a significant difference, at the .025 level, between the years of education of those with family members working and those without family members working. The mean difference, when tabulated using the continuous variable Years of Education is a little over a year more of education for those with family members working than those without.

Table 4. Cross-Tabulation for Education Level and Family Working (in percentages)

	Primary	Less Than HS	HS	Higher ED	Total
Family Working	16.8	8.6	7.1	1	33.5
Family Not Working	24.9	13.7	19.8	8.1	66.5
Total	41.6	22.3	26.9	9.1	100

While most vendors surveyed have other family members who are also working and contributing to the household income there is a positive relationship between the educational level of the vendor responding and the likelihood of their having family that works. Being from Bogota, as opposed to having one's origins in the countryside or a provincial city nears significance, as an intervening variable when discussing age, union affiliation and police interactions, but a larger sample size may be necessary to determine actual significance in those areas.

There appears to be a marginally significant relationship (p=.079) between the employment history of a vendor and their level of education based on a Pearson's R test for correlation. Vendors who have always been informal vendors appear to have lower levels of education, as shown in the figure below.

Table 5. Cross-Tabulation for Education Level and Past Employment (in percentages)

	Always Informal	Not Always Informal	Total
Primary	38.6	50	41.9
Less than High School	22.1	20.7	21.7
High School	27.6	27.6	27.6
Higher Education	11.7	1.7	8.9
Total	100	100	100

In summation, women in the sample are younger than their male counterparts. Also, younger vendors and those with family working have higher educational achievement than older vendors or those who do not have family working. While there may appear to be a possible interaction effect all three two-way ANOVA tests, using Gender and Age (grouped) as independent variables in the first, Gender and Family working in the second, and Family working and Age (grouped) in the third with a dependent variable of years of education, show that none of these variables interact to affect education achievement or the alternate variable years of education.

Responses Relating to Ideology and Identity

This section summarizes the general findings about possible occupational ideological themes among the vendors and their general feelings about their work. Here I also explore the possible relationships between independent demographic variables and dependent variables.

Table 6. Survey Responses of Informal Vendors in Bogota, Colombia.

Enjoys Work	184	90.6%
Controls Location	47	23.2%
Thoughts of Family		
Positive	120	62.2%
Neutral	48	24.9%
Negative	25	13%
Thoughts of Friends		
Positive	110	65.1%
Neutral	46	27.2%
Negative	13	7.7%
Respondent would be willing to trade their occupation for one with less freedom and more pay	153	79.7%
Advantages		
Independence	87	42.9%

Schedule	64	31.5%
Money	47	23.2%
People/Relationships	22	10.8%
Disadvantages		
Police	72	35.5%
Climate	83	41.1%
Safety	26	12.8%
Income	34	16.7%
Why do clients buy from them, as opposed to other sources or vendors?		
Location	31	15.3%
Personal Qualities	96	47.3%
Relationship	40	19.7%
Price	17	8.4%
Clients' Need	13	6.4%

The dependent variable Enjoys Work appears to be overwhelmingly positive, save the amount of time a vendor has worked in this occupation. A t-test comparing the means of time vending for vendors who responded positively to whether or not they enjoy their work to those who responded otherwise (negative and neutral responses were groups for this test) showed that the mean time in the occupation was significantly lower for those who report enjoying their occupation than those who don't. The t-test showed a t of 1.969 with 200 degrees of freedom, significant at the p=.050 level.

Table 7. Means of Time Vending based on Enjoying One's Occupation or Not

Enjoys One's Occupation	Doesn't Enjoy One's Occupation
5.53 years	7.43 years

In contrast, the variable Controls Location, which asked respondents if they have control over where and the space in which they work appears to be significantly affected by whether the vendor buys their minutes through an intermediary, buys them direct from the large telecom companies, or uses both channels to obtain product. The Point Bi-Serial

correlation as performed in SPSS as a special case of the Pearson's R correlation shows r=.149 (significant at .035 level), meaning that the source of the product has a positive, but weak effect on the control vendors have over their location. The graph below shows this directional relationship.

Table 8. Cross-Tabulation for Controls Location and Source of Minutes (in percentages)

Sources	Intermediary or Rental	Both	Directly from Telecom Company	Total
Controls Location	82.3	72.7	69.2	76.7
Does Not Control Location	17.7	27.3	30.8	23.3
Total	100	100	100	100

The ordinal variables, Thoughts of Family and Thoughts of Friends, are analyzed by using Gamma, an ordinal measure of association, which also allows for testing of dichotomous variables. When testing these I found a gamma of .329 that is significant at a p=.011indicating that there is a moderately strong positive relationship between Gender and Thoughts of Family about one's occupation. This relationship is shown in the cross-tabulation below.

Table 9. Cross-Tabulation for Thoughts of Family and Gender (in percentages)

	Male	Female	Total
Positive	69.2	53.4	62
Neutral	23.1	27.3	25
Negative	7.7	19.3	13
Total	100	100	100

There is a nearly significant relationship with p=.088 between Thoughts of Family and having Other Employment with a gamma of .431, which shows a moderately strong positive relationship, where having no other employment was coded as 1 shows that vendors without other employment were more likely to have families who thought positively about their occupation as evidenced by the cross-tabulation below.

Table 10. Cross-Tabulation for Thoughts of Family and Other Employment (in percentages)

	Positive	Neutral	Total
Positive	63.9	30	62.2
Neutral	23	60	24.9
Negative	13.1	10	13
Total	100	100	100

Thoughts of Friends closely mirror the Thoughts of Family with a gamma measurement of .331 significant at a p=.024 level showing a moderately strong positive relationship between Thoughts of Friends and Gender, as shown in the cross-tabulation below.

Table 11. Cross-Tabulation for Thoughts of Friends and Gender (in percentages)

	Male	Female	Total
Positive	71.6	56.2	64.9
Neutral	24.2	31.5	27.4
Negative	4.2	12.3	7.7
Total	100	100	100

The dependent variable which asked respondents if they would trade their current occupation for one with less independence, but a little more income showed that while there is a substantial minority of just over 20% who claim they would be unwilling to

trade informal vending for a better paying formal occupation, there appears to be no independent variable, as measured by the questionnaire that is correlated with this variable.

When asking respondents about the major advantages of their occupation several correlations are found between demographic characteristics and the vendors' ideologies. The major themes that emerged (see Table 2), are: Independence, Schedule, Money and People/Relationships. Independence as a theme was evident from simple responses such as "*La Independencia*" (Independence) as the main advantage of having their occupation, to responses like, "*Nadie me manda*" (No one gives me orders), "*Soy mi propio jefe/patron*" (I am my own boss/patron), "*Mi negocio es mi propio, soy microempresario, independiente*" (My business is my own, I am a small businessman, independent). Chi squared tests showed that there is a chi-squared of 3.261, when the expected minimum count was 41.35, there is a marginally significant difference (at .071) on the between men and women in their likelihood to respond that independence is a major advantage of their occupation. This is the only independent variable that shows any kind of relationship with the response Independence and the direction of this relationship is shown in the graph below.

Table 12. Cross-Tabulation for Advantage Independence and Gender (in percentages)

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	47	59.8	52.5
No	53	40.2	47.5
Total	100	100	100

The response Schedule or being able to control one's own work schedule showed a significant difference, when tested with a chi squared test with chi squared equal to 8.424 with an expected minimum count of 30.42, between the responses of men and women at the .004 level. This theme was coded based on responses that were generally very simply stated as, "*Tengo control de mi horario*" (I have control over my schedule) or "*No tengo un horario fijo, puedo trabajar cuando quiero*" (I don't have as fixed schedule I can work when I want), occasionally vendors would add to that statement, by stating that they appreciated being able to stop working in order to pick their kids up from school or take them to medical appointments during the day. This is again the only independent variable that affects the response, but as one can see in the graph below there is a very strong relationship between these variables.

Table 13. Cross-Tabulation for Advantage Schedule and Gender (in percentages)

	Male	Female	Total
Yes	47	59.8	52.5
No	53	40.2	47.5
Total	100	100	100

The response of money or income as the major advantage of the occupation shows a significant relationship between the age group within which one falls and their likelihood of reporting income as an advantage of their occupation. The chi-squared test confirmed this with chi squared of 21.122 and a minimum expected count of 1.59, being significant at the .001 level and as shown below older individuals appear to be most likely to see income as an advantage. This theme was extracted based on answers that varied slightly, ranging from responses indicating the desirability of making money every

day to the relative high income that some vendors were able to achieve in commercial districts and nice neighborhoods.

Table 14. Cross-Tabulation for Advantage Income and Age Group (in percentages)

	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	66+	Total
No	81.2	79.7	92.5	66	66.7	28.6	77.2
Yes	18.8	20.3	7.5	34	33.3	71.4	22.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

The response People/Relationships shows a significant relationship between this response and having other employment. The chi squared test with chi squared equal to 9.257 and an expected minimum count of 1.08 shows the relationship to be significant at the .002 level; however, the small number of respondents who hold other employment does cause a little concern over the reliability of this finding. Otherwise, this appears to be the only factor that affects the likelihood that some would say that the relationships they have with clients and fellow vendors are an advantage to their occupation.

Table 15. Cross-Tabulation for Advantage People/Relationships and Other Employment (in percentages)

	No Other Employment	Other Employment	Total
No	90.7	60	89.2
Yes	9.3	40	10.8
Total	100	100	100

When asking respondents about the major disadvantages of their occupation several patterns do emerge, which connect demographic independent variables to the dependent variables that describe the vendors' ideologies. The major themes that

emerged from this question, as stated in Table 2, are: Police, Climate, Safety and Income/Benefits. The response Police came out of remarks made by vendors saying things such as the police bother them, steal from them, run them off the street and I grouped those as general problems with the police, which is different than the theme Safety which refers to responses that named insecurity, thieves, and traffic safety issues, but did not specifically name the police as the source of the problem. The chi-squared test with a chi squared of 3.487 and a minimum expected count of 25.89, shows that there is a marginally significant (.062) relationship between reporting Police as a disadvantage and whether or not one is from Bogota. As is shown in the graph below it appears that those from outside of the city may be more likely to report the police as a disadvantage.

Table 16. Cross-Tabulation for Disadvantage Police and From Bogota or not (in percentages)

	From Bogota	Not From Bogota	Total
No	56.2	69.2	64.5
Yes	43.8	30.8	35.5
Total	100	100	100

Those vendors who have always been vendors, as opposed to having moved into the occupation from another occupation appear to be more likely to report the Police as being a major disadvantage to their occupation. A chi-squared test with a chi squared of 3.108 and a minimum expected count of 20.57 shows that there is a nearly significant relationship (.078) between the two variables and the graph below illustrates the direction of that relationship.

Table 17. Cross-Tabulation for Disadvantage Police and Always Informal Vendor (in percentages)

	Not Always Informal	Always Informal	Total
No	68.3	55.2	64.5
Yes	31.7	44.8	35.5
Total	100	100	100

Climate or weather was another major theme that arose when asking vendors about the possible disadvantages of their work. Some complained about the rain, others the sun, and others simply being exposed to the elements in the street where it is impossible to completely escape from them. There appear to be no independent variables that inform the likelihood of this response.

Safety is another major theme so far as disadvantages are concerned. Safety, as I previously stated, refers to responses that named insecurity, thieves, and traffic safety issues, but did not specifically name the police as the source of the problem. There appears to be a significant difference (at .000 level), based on the outcome of the chi-squared test where the chi squared equals 18.895 and minimum expected count 2.31, between the educational achievement of vendors and their likelihood reporting safety as a disadvantage to their occupation. The graph below shows the group with the highest reporting of safety as a disadvantage is also the most highly educated group.

Table 18. Cross-Tabulation for Disadvantage Insecurity and Education Level (in percentages)

	Primary	Less Than HS	HS	Higher ED	Total
Yes	92.9	86.4	89.3	55.6	87.2
No	7.1	13.6	10.7	44.4	12.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100

The lack of financial security and benefits was also a concern voiced by almost seventeen percent of vendors surveyed; however, there appears to be no link between that response and the independent variables.

Of the themes that emerged from the responses to the question, "Why do clients buy minutes from you, as opposed to another vendor or direct from the telecom company?" several appear to have relationships with independent variables. The first of these is the theme Personal Qualities. This theme was extracted from the responses of vendors who claimed different personal qualities, such as being a good business person, being honest, or having a nice physical appearance as reasons that clients buy from them. Performing a chi-squared test I find that as chi squared equals 4.331 while the minimum expected count is 45.62, so there is a significant relationship between Gender (at .037) and believing that various personal qualities contribute to the success of the vendor. As the chart below shows, more women than men claim personal qualities as the reason that they are able to attract clients.

Table 19. Cross-Tabulation for Personal Qualities as a reason for client retention and Gender (in percentages)

	Male	Female	Total
No	59.4	44.8	52.5
Yes	40.6	55.2	47.5
Total	100	100	100

In addition to Gender having a relationship with this variable Personal Qualities, Age, as shown by a Chi squared test with chi squared equaling 12.105 while the minimum expected count of 3.29, also has a significant relationship with the response personal qualities (at.033), with younger respondents being more likely to respond that their personal qualities affect their client base.

Table 20. Cross-Tabulation for Personal Qualities as a reason for client retention and Age Grouped (in percentages)

	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	66+	Total
No	37.5	48.4	45.3	61.7	66.7	100	53
Yes	62.5	51.6	54.7	38.3	33.3	0	47
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

There appears to be no correlation between the responses Relationships, Location or Price. For the response Client's need combined technical answers about the availability of vendors to provide a necessary service, a commodity some called it. With a chi squared of 3.33, minimum expected count of 6.18 and a nearly significant relationship (at .068) was found between this response and Gender. As the graph below shows men responded with this answer more than women.

Table 21. Cross-Tabulation for Clients need as a reason for client retention and Gender (in percentages)

	Male	Female	Total
No	90.6	96.9	93.6
Yes	9.4	3.1	6.4
Total	100	100	100

In summation, the independent variables Gender and Age seem to have some relationship with the advantages that respondents report for their occupation and their beliefs about why clients come to them, while education and where the vendor is from seem to have some influence on reported disadvantages. The other ordinal dependent variables, reporting the feelings of family and friends about one's occupation, appear to share a possible, though not necessarily completely significant, relationship with gender and the kind of police interactions that the vendor has. In contrast the other dependent variables appear to be somewhat independent, in that there is little in the demographic background of a respondent that predicts their responses.

The Effect of Location

By coding the location of the survey collection, the vendor's place of work, by *barrio* (neighborhood or district) I was able see the effect that place and the particulars of different social situation effected the characteristics of the vendors in that area as well as their opinions and feelings about their occupation. The barrios included are Centro, San Victorino, Suba, Chapinero, Las Americas and Ave de Chile. These are not exact districts in Bogota, as San Victorino is a very large plaza located near Centro, but which is an important popular commercial district only during winter holidays. Chapinero includes

vendors from Chapinero, Marly and as far north as Las Flores, but these areas are so similar and one can easily walk across this area in a hour, so that justified grouping them for me. Ave de Chile represents the more socially elite area north of Las Flores that includes the area around Ave de Chile Mall and the international banking establishments one and two blocks east of that landmark. Also, Las Americas represents Plaza de Las Americas and the shopping/entertainment district that surrounds it. In general, these distinctions serve to discern between districts which sometimes are geographically close, but are socially and economically worlds away from one another.

Barrio Centro is characterized by the general diversity of the city with many vendors located around major transportation hubs, universities and government offices. The vendors in this area more likely to have higher education, are older than those from other areas and are less likely to have other family members working and contributing to the household. Vendors in this area are less concerned about the police, but more concerned about general insecurity and things like petty theft than in other areas. These vendors also have a much higher rate of reporting that they have control over their location.

Table 22. Cross-Tabulation for Barrio Centro and Education (in percentages)

	Other Barrios	Barrio Centro	Total
Primary	45	34.9	41.9
Less Than HS	21.4	22.2	21.7
High School	27.9	27	27.6
Higher Education	5.7	15.9	8.9
Total	100	100	100

Pearson's R Correlation r=.133 p=.058

Table 23. Cross Tabulation for Barrio Centro and Grouped Age (in percentages)

	Other Barrios	Barrio Centro	Total
18-25	7.9	7.9	7.9
26-35	37.4	19	31.7
36-45	24.5	30.2	26.2
46-55	22.3	25.4	23.3
56-65	5.8	11.1	7.4
66+	2.2	6.3	3.5
Total	100	100	100

Pearson's R Correlation r=.170 p=.015
Independent Samples T-Test p=.024, df=200, t=-2.3
Mean age in Barrio Centro 43.9 in Other Barrios=39.6

Table 24. Cross Tabulation for Barrio Centro and Family Working (in percentages)

	Other Barrios	Barrio Centro	Total
No	29.7	42.4	33.5
Yes	70.3	57.6	66.5
Total	100	100	100

Chi Square=2.975, expected minimum count 19.77. Sig. .085

Table 25. Cross Tabulation for Barrio Centro and Disadvantage Police (in percentages)

	Other Barrios	Barrio Centro	Total
No	60.7	73	64.5
Yes	39.3	27	35.5
Total	100	100	100

Chi Square=2.873, expected minimum count 22.34. Sig. .09

Table 26. Cross Tabulation for Barrio Centro and Disadvantage Insecurity (in percentages)

	Other Barrios	Barrio Centro	Total
No	90.7	79.4	87.2
Yes	9.3	20.6	12.8
Total	100	100	100

Chi Square=5.011, expected minimum count 8.07. Sig. .025

Table 27. Cross Tabulation for Barrio Centro and Controls Location (in percentages)

	Other Barrios	Barrio Centro	Total
No	85	58.7	76.8
Yes	15	41.3	23.2
Total	100	100	100

Chi Square=16.852, expected minimum count 14.59. Sig. .000

San Victorino is a very large plaza located west of the center of the city, but still very close to the major public transportation hubs and a very popular commercial district for informal vendors around the winter holidays. This shapes the vendors that I encountered in the area and explains why I chose to separate it from Barrio Centro. Vendors in this area are younger than those in other areas and they are also more likely to have other employment. These vendors are less likely to report Independence as an advantage of their occupation, but are more likely to report controlling their location.

Several vendors with whom I spoke in San Victorino explicitly told me that they were there because of the Christmas crowds and that they would go back to their usual area across the city near a group of large schools after the Christmas holiday was over and the students returned to school. One guy also mentioned being in San Victorino to help out a friend who normally sold goods there, but was ill.

Table 28. Cross Tabulation for Barrio San Victorino and Grouped Age (in percentages)

	Other Barrios	Barrio San Victorino	Total
18-25	7.9	9.1	7.9
26-35	30.4	54.5	31.7
36-45	26.2	27.3	26.2
46-55	24.1	9.1	23.3
56-65	7.9	0	7.4
66+	3.7	0	3.5
Total	100	100	100

Independent Samples T-Test p=.072, df=200, t=1.81
Mean Age in Other Barrios 41.3 years in San Victorino 34.45 years

Table 29. Cross Tabulation for Barrio San Victorino and Other Employment (in percentages)

	Other Barrios	Barrio San Victorino	Total
No	95.8	81.8	95.1
Yes	4.2	18.2	4.9
Total	100	100	100

Chi Square=4.363, expected minimum count 0.54. Sig. .037

Table 30. Cross Tabulation for Barrio San Victorino and Advantage Independence (in percentages)

	Other Barrios	Barrio San Victorino	Total
No	55.7	81.8	57.1
Yes	44.3	18.2	42.9
Total	100	100	100

Chi Square=2.892, expected minimum count 4.71. Sig. .089

Table 31. Cross Tabulation for Barrio San Victorino and Controls Location (in percentages)

	Other Barrios	Barrio San Victorino	Total
No	78.6	45.5	76.8
Yes	21.4	54.5	23.2
Total	100	100	100

Chi Square=6.422, expected minimum count 2.55. Sig. .011

Suba is very large neighborhood at the far northwest extreme of the city and borders the farmland that is part of the department of Cundinamarca. The portal of Suba is where the public transit system for Bogota ends and the long distance provincial buses connect. The vendors in this area line the deep sidewalks with large tents selling all sorts of goods from electronics to clothing to homemade foodstuffs in addition to cellular minutes. The vendors in this area have less education than others, but are much more well organized in unions than others, and as one vendor told me when I asked him about police interactions, he said that he didn't have to worry about anything in that area because the union had a representative that regularly sat down with the mayor's office and the police, and he really took care of the vendors in the area well.

Table 32. Cross-Tabulation for Barrio Suba and Education (in percentages)

	Other Barrios	Barrio Suba	Total
Primary	39.8	64.7	41.9
Less Than HS	22	17.6	21.7
High School	29	11.8	27.6
High Education	9.1	5.9	8.9
Total	100	100	100

Pearson's R Correlation r=-.132 p=.061
Independent Samples T-Test p=.061, df=201, t=1.883
Mean Years of Education in Suba 6.35 years in Other Barrios 7.99 years

Table 33. Cross Tabulation for Barrio Suba and Union Member (in percentages)

	Other Barrios	Barrio Suba	Total
No	86.5	64.7	84.7
Yes	13.5	35.3	15.3
Total	100	100	100

Chi Square=5.685, expected minimum count 2.61. Sig. .017

Chapinero is mixed income area with lots of smaller shops and the kinds of churches and plazas that one might think of as typically filling a Latin American city. There are numerous smaller universities and high schools in the area and the main north to south public transit route runs parallel with the west side of this neighborhood. Additionally, it is conveniently located half way between the northern suburbs and the center of the city. Vendors in this area were much less likely to have previously been out of the labor force as students or homemakers, they were more likely to be the breadwinners for their household and they represented more diversity in their origins, with a higher number of individuals coming from other cities and departments than found in other neighborhoods. The vendors in this area are more likely to report Independence

as a major advantage of their work and the climate/weather as major disadvantage. These vendors were also more likely to report that they did not control their location.

Table 34. Cross Tabulation for Barrio Chapinero and Previous Employment- Out of the Labor Force (in percentages)

	Other Barrios	Barrio Chapinero	Total
No	93.1	100	95.6
Yes	6.9	0	4.4
Total	100	100	100

Chi Square=5.176, expected minimum count 3.19. Sig. .023

Table 35. Cross Tabulation for Barrio Chapinero and Hometown (in percentages)

	Other Barrios	Barrio Chapinero	Total
Not From Bogota	31.3	44	36
From Bogota	68.7	55.6	64
Total	100	100	100

Chi Square=3.487, expected minimum count 25.89. Sig. .062

Table 36. Cross Tabulation for Barrio Chapinero and Advantage Independence (in percentages)

	Other Barrios	Barrio Chapinero	Total
No	63.4	45.8	57.1
Yes	36.6	54.2	42.9
Total	100	100	100

Chi Square=5.827, expected minimum count 30.86. Sig. .016

Table 37. Cross Tabulation for Barrio Chapinero and Disadvantage Climate/Weather (in percentages)

	Other Barrios	Barrio Chapinero	Total
No	64.9	47.9	58.9
Yes	35.1	52.1	41.1
Total	100	100	100

Chi Square=5.496, expected minimum count 29.17. Sig. .019

Table 38. Cross Tabulation for Barrio Chapinero and Controls Location (in percentages)

	Other Barrios	Barrio Chapinero	Total
No	71	87.5	76.8
Yes	29	12.5	23.2
Total	100	100	100

Chi Square=7.116, expected minimum count 16.67. Sig. .008

Table 39. Cross Tabulation for Barrio Chapinero and Breadwinner (in percentages)

	Other Barrios	Barrio Chapinero	Total
No	20.8	11.1	17.3
Yes	79.2	88.9	82.7
Total	100	100	100

Chi Square=3.017, expected minimum count 12.48. Sig. .082

The vendors of Las Americas, an area near a popular lower middle class shopping center with a high concentration of bars and nightclubs in the area, are much younger that their fellow vendors in other parts of the Bogota. This is mirrored in that they are also more likely to have been out of the labor force, prior to entering this occupation. They are less likely to be the primary breadwinners for their households and interestingly they are more likely to be unionized. They are more likely than vendors in other areas to reference their schedule as a major advantage. This is evidenced by one young woman in this area

who was a recent high school graduate and who said that she was working as a vendor because she couldn't find a job and her parents refused to give her any money for partying and she liked vending because she didn't have to get up early. Vendors in this group were also more likely to have state that their friends where less than positive about their work.

Table 40. Cross Tabulation for Barrio Las Americas and Previous Employment-Out of Labor Force (in percentages)

	Other Barrios	Barrio Las Americas	Total
No	96.3	85.7	95.6
Yes	3.7	14.3	4.4
Total	100	100	100

Chi Square=3.445, expected minimum count 0.62. Sig. .063

Table 41. Cross Tabulation for Barrio Las Americas and Grouped Age (in percentages)

	Other Barrios	Barrio Las Americas	Total
18-25	6.4	28.6	7.9
26-35	31.9	28.6	31.7
36-45	27.1	14.3	26.2
46-55	22.9	28.6	23.3
56-65	8	0	7.4
66+	3.7	0	3.5
Total	100	100	100

Pearson's R Correlation r=-.131 p=.064
Independent Samples T-Test p=.015, df=200, t=2.44
Mean Age in Other Barrios 41.5 years in Las Americas 33.3 years

Table 42. Cross Tabulation for Barrio Las Americas and Advantage-Schedule (in percentages)

	Other Barrios	Barrio Las Americas	Total
No	98.4	85.7	97.5
Yes	1.6	14.3	2.5
Total	100	100	100

Chi Square=8.749, expected minimum count 0.34. Sig. .003

Table 43. Cross Tabulation for Barrio Las Americas and Thoughts of Friends (in percentages)

	Other Barrios	Barrio Las Americas	Total
Positive	67.1	36.4	65.1
Neutral	25.3	54.5	27.2
Negative	7.6	9.1	7.7
Total	100	100	100

Gamma=.473 Sig. .087

Table 44. Cross Tabulation for Barrio Las Americas and Union Membership (in percentages)

	Other Barrios	Barrio Las Americas	Total
No	86.7	57.1	84.7
Yes	13.3	42.9	15.3
Total	100	100	100

Chi Square=8.763, expected minimum count 2.15. Sig. .003

Table 45. Cross Tabulation for Barrio Las Americas and Breadwinner (in percentages)

	Other Barrios	Barrio Las Americas	Total
No	16	35.7	17.3
Yes	84	64.3	82.7
Total	100	100	100

Chi Square=3.550, expected minimum count 2.43. Sig. .06

Ave de Chile is the upscale neighborhood with an expensive mall and many bankers just north of Chapinero. Vendors in Ave de Chile are less likely to have previously been White Collar workers and are more likely to have been in a Dirty Job, such as working as a janitor or street sweeper, than vendors in other sectors. Vendors in this area complain more about the Police and the Climate/Weather than in other areas, as well as being less likely to reporting controlling their location. Despite those complaints the vendors in this area have a longer tenure in the occupation that their counterparts in other neighborhoods. They average 7.75 years vending, compared to vendors in other areas who average 5.41 years. This difference was proved significant by a t-test in which t=.706, there were 200 degrees of freedom and the significance was p=.005.

Table 46. Cross Tabulation for Barrio Ave de Chile and Last Employment-White Collar (in percentages)

	Other Barrios	Barrio Ave de Chile	Total
No	87	100	88.7
Yes	13	0	11.3
Total	100	100	100

Chi Square=3.810, expected minimum count 2.95. Sig. .05

Table 47. Cross Tabulation for Barrio Ave de Chile and Last Employment-Dirty Job (in percentages)

	Other Barrios	Barrio Ave de Chile	Total
No	96.6	80.8	94.6
Yes	3.4	19.2	5.4
Total	100	100	100

Chi Square=11.1, expected minimum count 1.41. Sig. .001

Table 48. Cross Tabulation for Barrio Ave de Chile and Disadvantage-Police (in percentages)

	Other Barrios	Barrio Ave de Chile	Total
No	67.2	46.2	64.5
Yes	32.8	53.8	35.5
Total	100	100	100

Chi Square=4.4, expected minimum count 9.22. Sig. .036

Table 49. Cross Tabulation for Barrio Ave de Chile and Disadvantage-Climate (in percentages)

	Other Barrios	Barrio Ave de Chile	Total
No	55.7	80.8	58.9
Yes	44.3	19.2	41.1
Total	100	100	100

Chi Square=5.89, expected minimum count 10.68. Sig. .015

Table 50. Cross Tabulation for Barrio Ave de Chile and Controls Location (in percentages)

	Other Barrios	Barrio Ave de Chile	Total
No	73.4	100	76.8
Yes	26.6	0	23.2
Total	100	100	100

Chi Square=8.984, expected minimum count 6.02. Sig. .003

The differences in these location based groups extend beyond simple differences in characteristics and extend into their feelings and opinions about the occupation. This suggests that location, the comparative conditions in which one works and the group with whom one works make a difference in their thoughts about their occupation.

Serendipitous Findings and Observations

Ethnic/Racial demographics for this group seem to reflect the deference to whiteness in Colombian culture and indicate nothing of actual racial or ethnic differences in any meaningful way. Only 2.5% of the sample claimed any membership in minority racial/ethnic groups. I quickly learned that the only individuals who claim any ethnicity besides a national Colombian identity of a generally white/mestizo Colombia come from specific regions with very high concentrations of Afro-Colombian or Indigenous Andean populations. Race as a construct in Colombian could be defined largely as dependent upon social class, as a dark skinned person with a physical resemblance to a minority ethnic group would never be called a member of that group if that person is also well educated and at least middle class. Only five such individuals responded to the survey. The ability to quantify race and ethnicity is nearly impossible in Bogota, so much so that it has not been included as a question on the national census for more than 30 years and international estimates vary widely. Those estimates generally only reflect any kind of accuracy in measuring purely Afro-Colombian populations and purely Indigenous Andean populations, because the country is such a racial melting pot and (as my Colombian in-laws have told me) the one drop rule of the Southeast United States works in reverse in Colombia. This means that with one drop of European blood an individual or family can forever claim they are white Europeans. Those five individuals (2.5% of the sample) who chose to identify themselves as Afro-Colombian were all from cities that have historically been completely Afro-Colombian cities. Several of them told me as a personal aside that they felt that they had faced discrimination in the labor market, that

led to them becoming informal cellular minutes vendors. Additionally, though the sample is so small that one could not say this with much significance this small group did have an average of one more year of education than the general sample which identified as white/mestizo.

When surveying and generally moving about the city I observed a segregation of vendors based on ethnicity/race by the products which they sold. While most vendors and most people in Bogota generally are white/mestizo, those who are native indigenous Andeans vend very different products than others. They seem to largely sell artisanal handmade goods, like the tiny hand painted dragon bobble head I bought my son or the intricately woven and very expensive hammocks sold in plazas frequented by large numbers of international and domestic tourists. Other products frequently sold by ethnically indigenous people (made obvious by their clothing attire) were small appliances and cookware. I am told that these are items which are being purchased in Venezuela or Ecuador for much lower prices than they are available for in Colombia and that the indigenous people who live on ancestral lands that cross the borders travel back and for making a living off the differential trade policies of the neighboring countries. I can't be certain of that, but I do find it interesting that locals state primarily that those indigenous vendors are not Colombian, despite the fact that while I was in Bogota there was a very large fair going on with hundreds of artisans, mostly indigenous, selling handmade goods made all across Colombia. The point of the fair was to bring Colombian artisans to the capital to access international markets and sell their goods to gallery buyers most of whom are from Europe and the United States. While there is a large

gathering of Colombian indigenous artists at the large fair grounds and conference center that serves the city the vendors who are often selling very similar merchandise on the streets are not acknowledged as also being citizens, in the same way that those attending the prestigious art convention are acknowledged.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The consistency across groups responding that the vendors likes their job (save the effect of time vending) and the responses that they would stay in job even if offered another job with slightly more pay, show consistent levels of occupational affiliation. Most workers responded that they enjoy their work/occupation, but reported that they would opt for social mobility at the first opportunity. The neighborhood groupings show that as experiences and composition of the vendor population vary by location, so does the way that vendors describe the advantages/disadvantages of their work. These findings together show general occupational group consistencies in the responses to questions about and subgroup differences as vendors identify with their fellows who work around them daily and share similar experiences in daily interaction as evidenced in the advantages/disadvantages they report.

In the previous chapter I outlined the statistical findings from the in-person questionnaires that I conducted with 203 informal vendors of cellular minutes in Bogota, Colombia. In this chapter I will connect those findings with national data on the population of street vendors in Bogota, the existing literature on Social Identity Theory and the occupational ideologies of stigmatized occupational groups, and implications for

future research. I am comparing the opinions of stigmatized workers in the Global North and the untried Global South context within the informal economy.

The Comparison

While no single question on the survey directly addresses social identity, collectively the patterns displayed by vendors in their responses support the primary assumption that based on literature grounded in the minimal group studies (Tajfel and Turner 1986; Haslam 2004); of the existence of a group identity and there is an occupational group identity extends even to the newest vendors. Tajfel and Turner established different models of predicting the actions of group members based on the status of their social group (see Figure 1 in chapter three). For low status groups they envision three potential reactions used to buoy positive identity: individual mobility, social creativity, and social competition. Individual mobility is the reaction one would expect to see if group members perceive permeable group boundaries, basically if they think they can do something to move into a more esteemed group then they will. If group members don't see social mobility as a possibility, if they feel stuck, then they will act to protect the positive identity of the group. How they do so depends on the perceived stability of group relations. Members of dirty work professions typically perceive stability and therefore respond with social creativity, as opposed to social competition. Social creativity manifests itself in finding new ways to compare one's group to others, changing the values given to characteristics of the group or changing the group against which they are compared (Tajfel and Tuner 1986:19-20). This is best exemplified by

Ashforth and Kriener's (1999) study comparing workers across dirty work professions who use ideologies to "reframe, recalibrate and refocus taint and in which social weighting can be used to selectively attend to referents that offer more flattering views and comparisons" (p.429). The custodians in Ghidina's (1992:83) research also use the same technique with a different name, as she states they "stress the silver linings" of their occupation as part of a continuous process to combat slights to their occupational identity and because as members of a low status group there is not a positive and public acknowledged ideology for them to rely upon.

As Ashforth and Kriener (1999) noted, members of dirty work occupations often in response to their stigmatized occupations have very strong workgroup cultures with widely held shared beliefs, values, and norms. This is reflected in the over 90 percent positive response rate of vendors to the question as to their like or dislike of their occupation. Ghidina's (1992:79) work showed that custodians relied heavily on a "network of mutual dependence" in which the pleasant relations with others created a meaning of work shaped around community, so that the work of cleaning was not just the simple act of cleaning, but of acting as a member of a community. They were members of a community in which they were welcome and much loved members. It is with this understanding that I see the local work groups as communities of vendors. The differences in every barrio or neighborhood are evident in the responses of vendors from that neighborhood.

The vendors of the Centro were older, sometimes more educated and generally the sole income providers of their households. They were less likely than others to reference

the Police as a disadvantage, but more likely to report general insecurity as a problem. In contrast to vendors in other areas, in the Centro they are significantly more likely to report that they feel they have control over their location. This is interesting because it could be part of the lack of police force in the area that afford vendors greater control over their location, or potentially this could be part of the ideology of vendors in this area of the city. They may see this as an aspect of their life over which they have some measure of control.

Vendors in the San Victorino, though younger report this same feeling of control over their location, suggesting based on their close proximity to Centro that this is a factor of the area. They are less likely report Independence as an advantage to their work. This suggests to me that the temporary nature of many of the vendors in San Victorino's Christmastime market are less likely to identify with the occupational ideology, for which Independence appears to be a key component.

Vendors in Suba, far away from the center of the city, were much less educated, but very well organized with a large portion of the vendors in that sector belonging to the same union. Interestingly, that leads me to think that Diddle's (1962) observation that some members of low prestige occupations might have a greater class ideology than specifically occupational ideology. This is quite possible for this group as the union to which most of the vendors in Suba were a part was a general workers union, not an occupationally specific one.

In Chapinero the vendors were diverse in their geographic origins, but suffered the heavy rains that plague that part the city equally as well as the lack of control over

their place of work. In an interesting contrast to that lack of control of their location, these vendors boast their Independence as a key advantage to their occupation. Near-by in Ave de Chile vendors suffer the same climate and lack of control over their location, with the added disadvantage of the Police. They don't; however, respond using Independence as the same protective advantage as the vendors in Chapinero.

Many of the vendors in Las Americas a quite young, often straight out of school, and though their friends speak badly of their occupation they cheer having a great schedule. They are more likely to be union members and as they are so young I imagine that their membership is something related to their parent's ideologies, though they don't suffer under the Police as in other areas, so the voice of one's friends and peers is often quite strong.

These place based outcomes suggest to me that while Social Identity Theory clearly outlines that group membership and identity is formed even when there is no direct contact with other members of the group, that direct contact with other in-group members can have an effect on the particulars of the group ideology which is formed. So while vendors generally claim to enjoy their work and their ideology appears to revolve around themes of independence and control, the particulars of the manner in which this is expressed varies as a factor of the particulars of place-based factors, including the interactions with fellow vendors in the neighborhood, whom depend on one another for basic courtesies such as making change of large bills and caring for one another's merchandise when one is in dispose.

The Sample

Comparing the sample of informal cellular minutes vendors in Bogota with 2005 DANE statistics on street vendors and the informally employed generally in Bogota, the samples appears to be a good fit as far as representing the typical characteristics of the population. Women make up 49.7 percent (men are 50.3%) of informal workers in Bogota and account for 47.3% of the sample. Demographically, I found my sample of vendors to be quite diverse with a nearly even split of women and men vendors (106 male, 96 female) participating in the survey. This high participation of women in the paid workforce, as well as the informal workforce is no surprise. Masi de Casanova (2011) notes in her research on Ecuadorian direct saleswomen how, despite the real and stereotyped machismo that has permeated gendered relations in Latin American, recent economic shifts have pushed wage earning into the idealized image of the 'good mother' in Ecuador. This need to have two (or more) income households and the precarious stability of any single wage earning job has encouraged many to use multiple income strategies, as well as (formal and informal) self-employment as a means of ensuring more or less predictable income for the family. Many women have turned to this because the formal labor market lacks the flexibility they need in order to both earn income and care for their elder family members and young children. Agadjanian (2002) similarly describes the increasing role that women play as breadwinners in post-structural adjustment Bolivia, where the decline in industrial wage jobs has forced the increase in informal occupations and the need for any able member of many households to make economic contributions. These testimonies in combination with the tradition of centuries

of informal trade in the whole of the Andean region helps to explain the equal economic participation across genders, but they leave out possible differences in their experiences. Though I find that men had a slightly higher mean number of hours worked daily (11.5 versus 11.1 for women), this minor difference was statistically insignificant and the mean number of days worked weekly was very similar (6.2 versus 6.1 days). One might assume that the work load (the overall amount of hours devoted to paid work) for these informal vendors is very similar. The importance that this informally gained income holds in the household appears to be quite high and there were no significant differences between men and women, 82.7% of all of the vendors surveyed reported to be the breadwinner. This statistic is based on my having asked if the individual responding to the survey earned the majority (over half) of all family income. Also, the importance of informal labor for meeting familial needs is underscored by the fact that over 95 percent of vendors responded that they had no other employment outside of informal vending.

The differences I find, based on the anecdotes which vendors presented to me, show that there may be present in the meaning of work for men and women in this occupational group that I noted was that I encountered numerous women who worked vending cellular minutes, worked with their children, many of whom were on winter holiday breaks from school at the time of the this data collection. Other women noted that they worked in a location strategically close to their children's school. They often had a friend who watched the cart from which they vend while they pick up their child(ren) from school. Some noted specifically that they chose this occupation because they could have the flexibility of being able to leave the job to attend to family matters. One mother

of two had lost her husband to the internal violence and moved her children to Bogota leaving her extended family behind. She worked as an informal vendor because that, she said, was the only possible occupation for her. Since she had to be mother and father for her children, she had to make sure that her children both had a parent in the home to care for them and the income of a working parent. Forty out of 96 women reported that the major advantage of informal cellular minutes vending was the freedom of schedule, whereas only 24 out of 106 men reported this to be the case for them.

It is important to note that there are advantages to the occupation of informal street vending of cellular minutes for women, because of their particular needs to balance work and familial obligations. Masi de Casanova (2011) found among Ecuadorian direct-sales vendors, that may not affect men to the same degree, or simply may not be expressed by men using the same language this is none the less an important advantage that has worked its way into the occupational ideology of these workers. The language that men used to describe their advantages was possible site for confusion because, while men were less likely to describe freedom in setting, their schedule was an advantage that had a marginally significant higher likelihood for them to state that independence or freedom generally (and especially in reference to a boss or patron) was the major advantage of their occupation.

Gender was not the only diversity in the sample. Educational achievement among the vendors ranged from the elderly vendor who told me that he went to school for only a few days of kindergarten before his family moved and he never went back to school and the vendors who reported having advanced degrees or being in the process of achieving

such degrees. The large scale surveys reported in Roever's research (2010) from DANE showed that 50.7% of vendors had basic education while an additional 41.8% had mid-level education. This is comparable to my sample when comparing my group primary education, which accounts for 41.9% of the sample with basic education and when collapsing my groupings of less than high school together with high school graduates, which together account for 49.3% of the sample. This suggests that my sample is either somewhat more highly educated that the general population of street vendors or that the population has become better educated in the six years since this 2005 data was collected. If the sample does indeed have a higher level of education than the general population of vendors this could be explained by a number of factors, including the areas of the city in which sampling occurred, as very low income areas were omitted, or the possibility that vendors of cellular minutes are generally somewhat more educated because basic literacy and numeracy are required for using the cellular devices. This possible difference could have some effect on the outcome and understanding of the ideology by highlighting the perspective of the more educated vendors, whom one might easily assume, would be most likely to have dissenting opinions or alternate beliefs about the overall social system, seeing themselves as the possible benefactors of social mobility.

From the questionnaires collected definite patterns emerge in both the demographics of the vendors and their response to questions about their occupation. These patterns reflect the unique situation of vendors in Bogota as the result of the ongoing civil conflict, the very large informal sector which is even larger than many other similarly positioned national capitals in the region (Roever 2006), and has been

exaggerated by the global economic downturn since 2008. One of the interesting demographic patterns was that women in the sample are younger and that younger people have higher levels of educational achievement. This was exemplified by several young women I met working in the center of the city near the universities that some had attended before dropping out. Others continued to attend, paying their tuition as best they can with the money they made vending on the street. One of these young women smiled shyly when I asked her why her clients come to her and the young man dressed in suit and tie, who was preparing to make a call on one of her lines laughed and said, "*¿No es obvio?*" (Isn't it obvious). It was rather clear that being a pretty young woman determined both the composition of her clientele and the success that she had as a vendor. These young women, as well as a young man I met who was working on a master's degree in business administration, exemplify the difficulty that young people are having finding economic and educational opportunities currently. In other Latin American countries it is more common to find vendors with less education, but during economic cycles of recession whole new groups of people get pulled into the informal economy that would otherwise be able to find formal employment (Roever 2010). The internal conflict has caused nearly continuous flows of refugees into Bogota. This has created a situation in Bogota with levels of informality which are nearly double that of other comparable cities in the region. This unusual situation is part of what creates the great diversity that I see in the sample of vendors in the research. Industrial engineers, 20 year-old Chemistry majors and MBA students are not the people you would typically find or expect to find working as informal street vendors, but that is exactly what has happened in Bogota.

There is a large group of individuals with high school diplomas and a small, but substantial group of well-educated people who have become part of this occupational group, despite differing from other members of the group in this very important way. As one Afro-Colombian vendor, with a high school diploma and an impressive military record and training told me, he never expected to be on the street selling candies and cellular minutes, but he was making certain that his 15 year old son would go to university and hopefully not have to work informally.

Responses Based on Demographic Differences

While the basic coded responses of vendors to the questionnaire speak volumes about their feelings and experiences, their word choice, tone and anecdotes recorded in my field notes and etched in my memory give even greater context and understanding to this endeavor of trying to understand their perspectives and ideologies of their occupation. That means that this section will include analysis of the significant relationships between variables as well as anecdotes and confirmation of the exact wording that give indication of the humor and graciousness with which vendors responded to questions about their occupation. That being said, I do recognize the value of qualitative research for gaining a deeper understanding of identities and ideologies. This is why most research pertaining to this the dirty work occupations has been conducted through qualitative interviews (Ashforth and Kreiner 1999) and this survey research largely serves as a launching point from which in-depth interviews could be conducted, exploring the themes that have emerged from the responses of vendors to the

questionnaires and more closely investigating the areas in which it appears that vendors diverge from the expected course of action, as prescribed by Tajfel and Turner in their Social Identity Theory, explaining intergroup relations and therein the formation of ideologies in reaction to threats to the group's positive identity.

The generally high level of positive responses by vendors to questions like if they enjoy their work or not, and the attitudes of their family and friends about their work suggests generally a situation that mirrors what Ashforth and Kriener (1999) found in their review of decades of research on dirty work occupations found, that people in dirty work occupations generally have high occupational esteem and pride. Additionally, that one in five vendors prefers their occupation so strongly that they would turn down the possibility for a formal job with some increase income. That informal street vendors share this common trait with dirty workers in the Global North supports my assumption that they are fundamentally similar groups in their social situation with similar kinds of stigma and responses to that stigma, which justifies my use of Social Identity Theory as a tool to analyze this group and compare their responses against the expectations of European and North American social theorists.

Differences in the perceived advantages and disadvantages of their occupation appears to be the best way, using the survey instrument, to differentiate between the generalities of positive feeling towards one's occupation and an actual ideology that is constructed to maintain a positive social identity. As noted previously, women appear to be more likely to value their schedule, being able to come and go as they please, fulfilling commitments beyond those of strictly the working and gaining income. Independence

was the most common advantage to be reported by vendors and that was often juxtaposed by vendors with the foil of having a boss constantly breathing down one's neck and following orders. The freedom from orders was a common thread as well among San Francisco's garbage men, who were largely part owners in the scavenger cooperative (Stewart 1998). Over 90% of the informal vendors in the sample are self-employed, so one can imagine that like the garbage men being their own bosses and having a sense of control over their work would stand out as an important factor in an ideology of choice in economic circumstances that often leave workers feeling very powerless over their destinies. Money and relationships were less common responses, but still accounting for significant minorities they too can tell something about the ideologies of vendors. It clear based on the manner of dress, the cleanliness, and mostly by the condition of vendors' teeth their level of affluence, which varied widely. I think that this partly explains why some vendors would see their occupation as providing an excellent income, while others would not use that as an alternate mode of comparison. One vendor I met had positioned himself in a nice neighborhood near a popular shopping center, and unlike any other vendor I met had a car, which he reported the local police used from time to time in pursuit of thieves. He said he was close friends with several local police officers and that he did quite well as a vendor and a police informant, well enough that his wife could stay at home with their young children. Older individuals were more likely to report that money or income was a primary advantage of their occupation; this could be partially explained by a number of vendors I met who were elderly and whose pensions did not provide sufficient income for their needs, but who couldn't work formally because then

they would risk losing their pensions. Those who work in other occupations, as well as vending appear to value the relationships that they foster and the new people that they meet while vending, this suggests that similarly to the custodians in Marcia Ghidina's (1992) research, whose relationships with the people living and working in the buildings they clean shape their feelings of their work and their value. That vendors, especially those who might have other work in which they are more isolated, enjoy the opportunity to engage with the public and talk with their regular clients, maybe as friends, the way that many of the custodian's also cultivated friends based on common hobbies and interests like baking and gardening.

The disadvantages reported by vendors prove equally interesting in regards to ideology. The most common disadvantage reported by vendors was the climate or weather and there appears to be no relationship between this and the characteristics of the vendors; however the second most common disadvantage reported was the police and there the likelihood of a vendor reporting this was higher if that vendor was not from Bogota or had always been an informal vendor. The vendors who have always been vendors are unlikely to see a possibility in social mobility, so they are the vendors who need to bolster the positive identity of their occupational group more than other vendors, who are more likely to see mobility as a possibility for them. That these vendors report the police as the major disadvantage of their work affirms Tajfel and Turner's (1986) predictions, as these vendors are condemning their number one condemners. The police frequently hassle vendors, forcing then off the sidewalk, stealing their inventory and sometimes arresting them. By naming them in such as way the vendors as comparing

themselves to a highly regimented group that is known to be corrupt and against whom they can say, well at least we aren't following orders to hurt regular people on the street. The vendors have established that they are free and don't take orders from any boss or patron, but the paramilitary nature of the police obliges them to follow orders all day long, including when those orders are to steal, harass, or generally bother informal street vendors, who are often from the same neighborhoods as the rank and file officers.

Together the responses paint a picture of the sample of vendors as a diverse group with some common positive feelings about their occupation, but with different means of expressing those feelings, based on the particulars of their situation, which is difficult to incorporate in the group level analysis provided by Social Identity Theory.

Social Identity theory gives good information to explain ideal cases within specific social/cultural/economic contexts, but social life is too complicated, especially in Bogota, Colombia where vendors experience an anomie like economic situation in near constant flux, to fit identities and responses to threats based on those identities into neat and tidy boxes. These explanations work quite nicely in the more stable Global North, but things are just messier in areas with as much economic and general uncertainty as the one I found in Colombia. It is this uncertainty, caused by frequent economic and military upsets in the country that could lead these highly vulnerable informal workers to align most closely with only the vendors in their immediate vicinity. It is much easier for them to reflect their little community of vendors in a specific neighborhood with specific concerns and rather unique population characteristics, than to fall in line with the more abstract body of vendors across the city.

Implications for Future Research

There are a number of directions that this research could take from here both in the context of Bogota and globally. I would primarily suggest that the themes garnered from this research should be used as a launching point to build an interview schedule to potentially confirm these preliminary findings with in-depth interviews that explore the themes more deeply, as qualitative interviews that have been the primary mode of inquiry for understanding occupational ideology in the dirty work occupations and this would round out the understanding of this apparent phenomenon of simultaneous belief structures. If further qualitative research could confirm and further explain the ideology of Independence and Control that appears to be emerging from this data then it could potentially become a useful paradigm for exploring and understanding the actions of individuals in the Global North and South who are underemployed as a result of the currently ongoing global economic crisis and therefore feeling a great lack of control and independence in their occupational lives.

This research in many ways supports the general presumptions of Social Identity Theory in a context very different from the one where is was formed. The streets of Bogota, Colombia have little in common with laboratory settings in Europe; however, this adds to the large literature of supporting experiments and qualitative research that serves as the backbone supporting this theory. The research also considers a unique situation in which the occupational group is so diverse that there is the potential for multiple belief structures to exist in its membership and even an anomie-like situation in

which many members of the occupational group more or less fell into it, after having been expelled for the formal labor force.

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APPENDIX A

CONSENT FORMS

Title Project: *Informal Economy Experiences in Cell Phone Minutes Vending*

Project Director: Dr. Stephen Sills & Casey Strange

Consent Form

What is this research study about?

This is a research study. Research studies include only people who choose to take part. You are being asked to voluntarily take part in this study in order to share your experiences as an informal vendor working in Bogota, Colombia. Specifically, we will ask you about your work experiences, your factors affecting those experiences and your interaction with government authorities. You will take part in an oral survey that will be recorded with written notes. We do not expect the interview to last more than 15 minutes.

Casey Strange has explained in the earlier verbal discussion the procedures involved in this study. These include the purpose and what will be required of you. Any new information that comes up during the study will be provided to you if the information might affect your willingness to continue participation in the project.

Possible good things that may come out of this study:
This study will assist researchers in documenting the effects of various social factors that inform participation in informal economy, specifically the street vending cellular minutes. The information provided by the participants has the potential to help inform the academics and policy makers as to the lived experience of informal vendors.

Possible risks that may occur in this study:
There are minimal risks to participants. The risk is a potential breach of confidentiality as your relative location (within a one block radius of a specific Transmilenio stop) will be recorded in the survey, though no identifiable information specific to you, beyond basic demographic information will be recorded. If you have any concerns about your rights or how you are being treated please contact Eric Allen in the Office of Research and Compliance at UNCG at (336) 256-1482. Questions about this project or your benefits or risks associated with being in this study can be answered by Dr. Stephen Sills at UNCG at (336) 727-1191 and e-mail at sjsills@uncg.edu

All of my questions:
The researcher has answered all of your questions about you being in this study. If you think of any questions at a later date, please contact Dr. Stephen Sills at UNCG at (336) 727-1191 and e-mail at sjsills@uncg.edu

Leaving the study:
You are free to refuse to participate or to withdraw your consent to be in this study at any time. There will be no penalty or unfair treatment if you choose not to be in the study. Being in this study is completely voluntary.

My personal information:
Your privacy will be protected. You will not be identified by name or other identifiable information as being part of this study. We will do everything possible to protect your privacy. Names are not necessary to participate in the study and will not be included in any reports. We will use a made-up name in place of your real name. We will not write down or record any identifying information. We will store any data in a safe place i.e. in the online data storage of UNCG. Dr. Stephen Sills, Casey Strange, and their research assistant will be the only persons with access. All information obtained in this study is strictly confidential unless disclosure is required by law.

Study approval:
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro Institutional Review Board makes sure that studies with people follows federal rules. They have approved this study, its consent form, and the earlier verbal discussion.

My rights with this study:

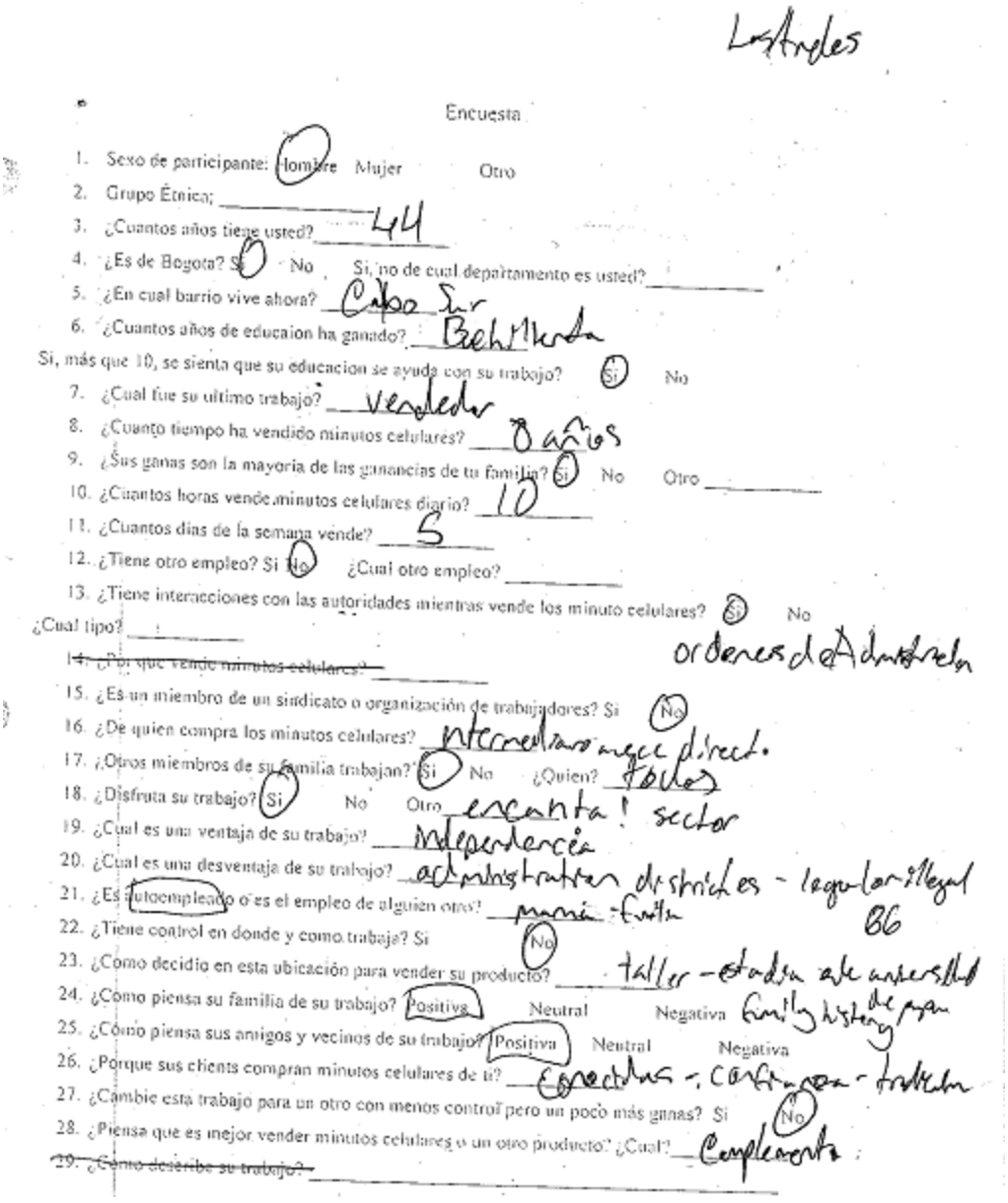
UNCG IRB
Approved Consent Form
Valid 11/16/11 to 7/11/12

Questions about your rights as a participant in this study can be answered by calling Mr. Eric Allen at 336-256-1482 or emailing him at: eric_allen@uncg.edu. By giving your verbal consent you are agreeing that you are 18 years of age or older, you have been orally presented with the information about the study and your rights as a participant. You also agree to participate in the study described to you by the researcher.

My Compensation
As compensation for your time commitment and participation in this study you will be paid 3,000 COP.

APPENDIX B

SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE



Los Andes

Encuesta

1. Sexo de participante: Hombre Mujer Otro
2. Grupo Étnica: _____
3. ¿Cuantos años tiene usted? 44
4. ¿Es de Bogota? Si No Si, no de cual departamento es usted? _____
5. ¿En cual barrio vive ahora? Cabo Sur
6. ¿Cuantos años de educaion ha ganado? Bachillerato

Si, más que 10, se sienta que su educacion se ayuda con su trabajo? Si No

7. ¿Cual fue su ultimo trabajo? vendedor
8. ¿Cuanto tiempo ha vendido minutos celulares? 8 años
9. ¿Sus ganas son la mayoria de las ganancias de tu familia? Si No Otro _____
10. ¿Cuantos horas vende minutos celulares diario? 10
11. ¿Cuantos dias de la semana vende? 5
12. ¿Tiene otro empleo? Si No ¿Cual otro empleo? _____
13. ¿Tiene interacciones con las autoridades mientras vende los minuto celulares? Si No

¿Cual tipo? _____ ordenes de Autoridad

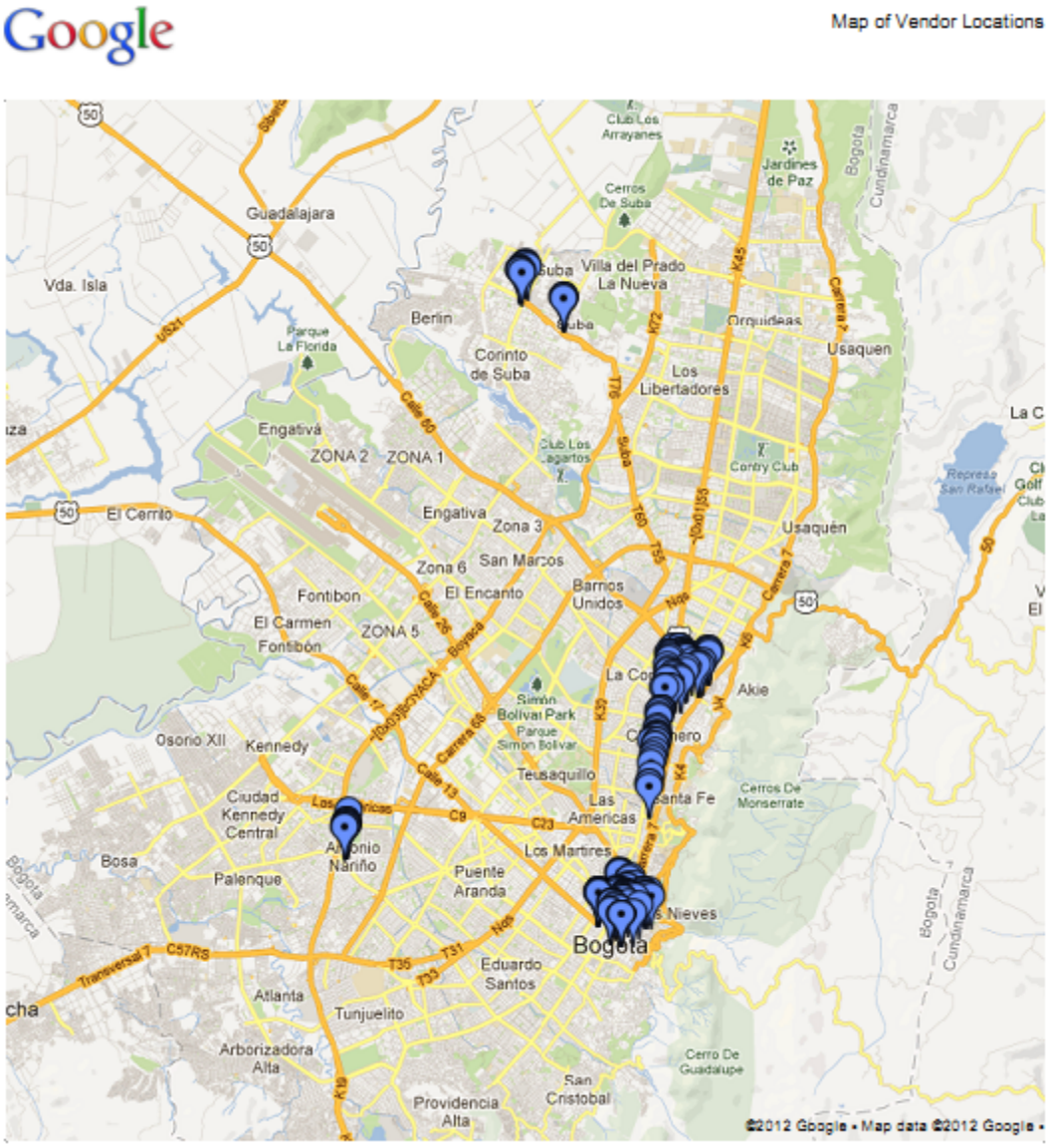
~~14. ¿Por que vende minutos celulares?~~ _____

15. ¿Es un miembro de un sindicato o organización de trabajadores? Si No
16. ¿De quien compra los minutos celulares? intermediario negoc. direct.
17. ¿Otros miembros de su familia trabajan? Si No ¿Quien? todos
18. ¿Disfruta su trabajo? Si No Otro encanta! sector
19. ¿Cual es una ventaja de su trabajo? Independencia
20. ¿Cual es una desventaja de su trabajo? administrativos distritales - legal/ilegal
21. ¿Es autoempleado o es el empleo de alguien otro? mamá - tuta
22. ¿Tiene control en donde y como trabaja? Si No 86
23. ¿Como decidio en esta ubicación para vender su producto? taller - estadio ale universidad
24. ¿Como piensa su familia de su trabajo? Positiva Neutral Negativa family history de pap
25. ¿Como piensa sus amigos y vecinos de su trabajo? Positiva Neutral Negativa
26. ¿Porque sus clients compran minutos celulares de ti? Conectar - confianza - trabajo
27. ¿Cambie esta trabajo para un otro con menos control pero un poco más ganas? Si No
28. ¿Piensa que es mejor vender minutos celulares o un otro producto? ¿Cual? Complementa

~~29. ¿Como describe su trabajo?~~ _____

APPENDIX C

MAP OF VENDORS



Bogotá, Bogota